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Barnard Beginnings



THE AUTHOR AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN WHEN SHE WAS STUDYING UNDER COLUMBIA'S COLLEGIATE COURSE FOR WOMEN

BARNARD BEGINNINGS

By
ANNIE NATHAN MEYER



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To my dear husband
DR. ALFRED MEYER
who from a slender purse made Barnard's first gift, who has always stood with me in every effort I have made, who has always loyally understood, generously supported, and devotedly encouraged, and whose criticism — discerning and wise when it was forthcoming — has always proved as helpful as his sympathy.

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE AUTHOR AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN WHEN SHE WAS STUDYING UNDER COLUMBIA'S COLLEGIATE COURSE FOR WOMEN *Frontispiece*

THE FIRST HOME OF BARNARD COLLEGE, 343 MADISON AVENUE, THE LEASE FOR WHICH WAS SIGNED BY THE AUTHOR 150

Barnard Beginnings

BARNARD BEGINNINGS

CHAPTER I

As far back as I can remember, I was filled with a passionate desire to go to college. I am not sure that I had any definite idea of just what it would do for me, but I know that long before I had reached my teens, a college appeared to me as an enchanting castle-in-Spain which was at once utterly desirable and tragically impossible. From the age of thirteen I kept house for my father and my two brothers, and it was obvious that to leave home under such circumstances — even for so exemplary a purpose as to attain an education — was something which, at least in those days, was simply not done.

Therefore, at the age of eighteen I joined that intrepid band of young women who, panting for the bread of knowledge, had with pathetic eagerness accepted from the authorities of Columbia College the stony substitute known as the Collegiate Course for Women.

For some ten years or so preceding the offering of this Collegiate Course, women had been casting longing eyes upon the educational opportunities locked

within Columbia's walls. On December 4, 1876, a Memorial was presented to the Trustees of Columbia College by Sorosis, a club made up chiefly of non-professional, yet earnest, women, upon which was shed a rosy, if somewhat misleading, prestige from the fact that its meetings were held at Delmonico's, the fashionable restaurant of the day. The author of the chapter on 'Education in the Eastern States,' in *Woman's Work in America*,* speaks of this Memorial as having been laid on the table by unanimous vote. President Butler, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Barnard College, refers to it in the same way. Yet at least one vote must have been in favor of it, since the President of Columbia was present, and it is certain that Frederick A. P. Barnard never lost an opportunity to voice his wholehearted approval of opening to women the full resources of the College.

In the first report of the Select Committee on Collegiate Education of Women, we find the statement that 'In October, 1879, the matter was again brought to the attention of the Board that the statutes of Columbia be construed as not to prohibit women from certain courses under certain conditions.' This resolution, the report states, was referred to the Committee on the Course and Statutes, who reported adversely to it on November 3.

* *Woman's Work in America*, edited and compiled by the author, in 1891.

Even before this Sorosis Memorial, tradition has it that a group of qualified women, one a graduate of the University of Michigan, applied for admission to Columbia's Medical School. A plea on their behalf was made by Mrs. Lillie Devereaux Blake, whom we shall meet again in these pages. The argument was made that the charter of the College declared that it was 'founded for the education of the youth of the city' and that 'youth' included the members of both sexes. President Barnard and several members of the Faculty announced themselves in favor of the project to admit these able women into the Medical School; but the Board of Trustees decided it was inexpedient to take any action in the matter.

For many years, women had been admitted quietly to various lecture rooms. It is on record that Professor Rood had permitted a few women to attend his lectures on Physics since the year 1873. All had been going along smoothly, without trouble, or complaint on the part of the young men, when suddenly it was discovered by one of the Trustees that his own daughter was one of these women. A Trustee could scarcely permit such irregularity on the part of one of his own family. It was sought to regularize the status of the women, but this entailed permission from the Trustees, which was not forthcoming. The result was that this comfortable arrangement straightway ceased. And that was the end

of what today would be called 'bootleg' attendance on lectures.*

Nevertheless, President Barnard continued, year after year, with undiminished cogency and zeal, to submit in his Annual Report to the Trustees many admirable reasons why the institution should permit young women to profit from its educational facilities.

On July 12, 1882, President Barnard addressed the Twentieth Convocation of the Regents of the State of New York. 'To assume,' he argued, 'that college education is designed to fit anybody, either man or woman, to fill some "sphere" is to contradict its whole theory and to misrepresent its universally admitted design.... Our colleges are not, and ought not to be, made schools of preparation for any department of human activity, but the culture implanted by them is simply to make the most that is possible of man as an intellectual and moral being, and to prepare him to fit himself to enter any "sphere" of duty or usefulness to which he may subsequently devote himself.'

One cannot refrain from wondering whether college education today — for all its diversifications and ramifications — could give a better account of itself!

* *The Home Journal* for March 14, 1883, voices indignation in a number of editorials on the subject. Among other things, it says: 'The ladies found themselves excluded. A motion was made in the Board of Trustees to have the prohibition repealed. It failed to pass. The resistance of inertia, the shudder at anything new, the content of selfish mediocrity were too great to be overcome.'

In this able and forward-looking paper, President Barnard permitted himself to suggest with pungent irony that a degree be given, by certain female academies, of Q.S., or Queen of Society. With mordant bitterness with which it is easy to sympathize, he recounts what had recently been said to him by one whom he calls 'one of the most highly cultivated ladies in New York society': 'I would preserve the bloom on the peach as long as possible.' He rejoins, 'So would I. I would favor no measure which would leave the slightest trace upon the delicacy of the bloom; but I would have the peach valuable for something more than its bloom merely.'

In April, 1882, a large public meeting was held by an Association for the Promotion of the Higher Education of Women. This was manned by conservatives (in distinction to club women) and its opening gun was actually fired from the impressive citadel of the Union League Club. Mr. Parke Godwin, the then editor of the *New York Evening Post*, a son-in-law of the poet, Bryant, presided over the meeting. Addresses were made by the Reverend Doctor Storrs of Brooklyn, by Joseph H. Choate, and by the Reverend Henry C. Potter, who was as yet neither Bishop of New York nor Trustee of Columbia College, but Rector of the fashionable Grace Church on lower Broadway. The speeches were of a high order, the wit, thoroughly delightful. Sidney Smith's spicy reference to the empty minds and nimble fingers of women

was used to good purpose by the Chairman; and it may be presumed that while it was considered desirable by the large and enthusiastic gathering to render the minds of women less empty, there was no intention to render the fingers less nimble.

It is remembered that Mr. Choate in an eloquent peroration said: 'If you ask why we insist on Columbia's actually opening her doors to women, we answer because there is no reason why they should submit to gather in an annex the crumbs which fall from their master's table, when they have a right to an equal seat at the board.'

The outcome of this meeting was a giant petition signed by some fourteen hundred men and women, suggesting that: 'In view of the state of public opinion both here and in older countries, touching the justice and expediency of admitting women to the same educational advantages as men, a state of opinion specially evidenced by the recent action of the English Universities of Cambridge and London, the Trustees of Columbia would consider how best to extend with as little delay as possible to such properly qualified women as might desire it, the benefit of education at Columbia College by admitting them to lectures and examinations.'

It is evident that the framers of this paragraph were not aware of the fact that the University of London at that time existed solely as an examining body.

One of the speeches — I believe it was Mr. Choate's — ended with these prophetic words: 'The end of all this is not probable only, it is certain.... Let no present disappointment be allowed to chill your enthusiasm... the time is not far distant when it shall be among the curiosities of history that one sex should ever have been debarred from the educational privileges accorded to the other.'

Mr. Choate also said that the appeal was not for coeducation, but for equal educational privilege; but his words, quoted above, disapproving of an 'Annex,' make this position, to say the least, obscure.

On January 20 of this year, 1882, the following note had been addressed to President Barnard:

'*Dear Sir*, — A considerable portion of your recent Annual Reports has been devoted to the subject of the admission of women to the educational advantages of Columbia College, and, being duly interested in having the important matter properly considered and understood, we would respectfully request you to collect and reprint in pamphlet form, for the information of the public, what you have already so ably brought before the Trustees.'

This request was signed by Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. Lucius Tuckerman, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Mrs. Frederic Sheldon, Mrs. William B. Rice, Mrs. Benoni Lockwood, Mrs. Alfred Pell, and Mrs. Henry E. Pellew.

President Barnard complied with this desire and a

pamphlet was distributed in the same year, entitled: 'The Higher Education of Women — Passages from the Annual Reports of the President of Columbia College — Presented to the Trustees in June, 1879, June, 1880, and June, 1881.'

An interesting statement is made by President Barnard, in his introduction to this booklet, that his purpose must not be misunderstood as an effort to persuade parents to send their daughters to college; his labors were rather in behalf of the many parents who earnestly desired to do so, but found these young women debarred by Columbia. 'To invite,' he quaintly observes, 'is not to constrain.'

His plea throughout these Reports is for the reception of these women students in Columbia College itself. In the Report of 1879 he holds that Columbia has now the physical room to accommodate them, and he recognizes an advance in public viewpoint, many now believing that 'the mental culture of women should be equal to that of men.'

The chief disagreement, he admits, was as to the method of securing this result.

Some, he reports in 1879, recommend 'women's colleges identical in form with men's, as Vassar and Rutger's Female College in this city,' but he takes the position that it is not possible to give the best instruction in such institutions. In the Report of 1880 he frowns upon the unnecessary duplication which would follow from the founding of new colleges for women.

'The country has already more colleges than it needs,' he avers, and warns that 'benefactions would far better be made to existing institutions.'

Others, he states, feel that the end would be attained by improving the 'female schools.' This he believes to be impossible. 'Their instructors could not rise above their own level.'

He gives a résumé of the status of the higher education of women in England and in America, those abroad being chiefly separate colleges near men's universities, while America's trend is toward coeducation, which he heartily endorses in vigorous presentations from many angles and urges upon Columbia.*

There is not the slightest doubt that this constant dropping of petitions upon the minds of the Columbia Trustees did succeed in wearing into them a definite impression. For, after careful and arduous labors, as indicated in the Chairman's diary,† the Select Committee of the Education of Women, of the Trustees of Columbia, presented to that Board, as its second report, a comprehensive plan of study that was instituted as the Collegiate Course for Women. This Committee consisted of Dr. Morgan Dix, Chairman, Dr. William C. Schermerhorn, Dr. Cornelius Agnew, and

* It is amusing to note, by the way, in the light of present educational tendencies, that in all these early debates it was assumed that women's higher education would center on classical studies. President Barnard looks forward to their studying 'a passage in Homer instead of irregular French verbs.'

† See Appendix A.

Dr. John W. Townsend, and its report describes it as 'the Select Committee appointed... to consider a petition addressed to this Board and communicated through the Association for Improving the Higher Education of Women.' The report begins with the resolution:

'Resolved, that the Board deem it expedient to institute measures for raising the standard of female education by proposing courses of study to be pursued outside the college, but under the observation of its authorities, and offering suitable academic honors and distinctions to any who on examination shall be found to have pursued such courses with success.'

The Handbook of Information of Columbia College for the year 1884–85 devotes fourteen pages to describing the Collegiate Course for Women.

I quote some of the salient features:

'1 — Women desiring to avail themselves of a course of Collegiate Study equivalent to the course given to young men in the College, may pursue the same under the general direction of the faculty of the School of Arts, subject to the principles and regulations hereinafter set forth.'

Some of the rules are too detailed to set forth here. Such as concern us at the moment are:

'6 — Unless under special circumstances no young woman shall be admitted to such examination before she shall have attained the age of seventeen years.'

(This requirement was originally 'eighteen years,' but was later amended.)

And most crucial of all:

'7 — Every student so admitted shall be entirely free as to where and how to pursue her studies, whether in some school, private or public, or at home, or under the auspices or direction of any association interested in her welfare and advancement, and providing her with the means of education.'

That is to say, these young women were to pursue alone, or under what auspices they could command, the same studies that the Columbia undergraduates followed under the constant guidance of the Faculty. Their contact with Columbia's instructors was to be merely a single interview at the beginning of each half-year, and the ordeal of the written examination.

For this was in the eighties, when the intelligence of women seems to have been held in such high esteem by the more conservative members of society, that a single interview with a member of the Faculty was jauntily supposed to suffice for them, while for the more mentally sluggish male frequent interviews and lectures were meticulously supplied!

In the beginning a certificate, duly signed by officers of the College, was the reward of this 'pursuit of learning,' but in less than three years the authorities of the College made a noble, an historic gesture, and the plan was modified by 'authorizing the conferring of the degree of Bachelor of Arts upon students who

have satisfactorily completed a full course.' Duly qualified women were even permitted to study for the higher degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy. At the time this story opens, some two dozen young women were availing themselves conscientiously, even if somewhat unavailingly, of the advantages thus offered.

Small wonder that up to the year 1885 none had as yet succeeded in qualifying for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. At Commencement, 1887, Mary Parsons Hankey, a plucky, frail, and earnest young woman, received the doubtful honor of the degree of Bachelor of Literature, and unfortunately lived but another year to enjoy the fruits of her Pyrrhic victory. The following February, a Committee of the Columbia Trustees, consisting of Dr. Dix, Dr. Agnew, and Mr. Harper reported this infraction of the Statutes in conferring the degree of Doctor of Literature, which had not been provided for, and which the Committee had deliberately intended to exclude. The Trustees ratified the resolution of the Committee, so that no special degrees in future would be granted to women candidates; but only such as were already regularly granted to the men.

CHAPTER II

I PASSED the entrance examinations for the Collegiate Course for Women, preparing entirely by myself, without assistance. That is to say, I took the examinations in General History, Modern and Ancient Geography, Physical Geography, French, and some Mathematics. As I had attended school only for a few months in my life, I didn't attempt to take the examinations in the Classics or in the Higher Mathematics. These I should have had to pass if I had had any idea of winning the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

I recall at one time referring to the fact that I had never regularly attended school, and hearing someone murmur in response something about Lincoln, the wonderful rail-splitter. So I hasten to add that my lack of schooling was in no sense a question of lack of funds or opportunity, but simply owing to the fact that being the youngest child of four my dear mother had kept me under her tutelage longer than the others. We all learned to read at her knee under the aegis of that little brown volume, *Reading Without Tears*, to which Agnes Repplier has referred so delightfully, but I went on further, even taking up French, I remember, with her. Later on, after my

mother's death, I became the apple of my father's eye, and he refused to let me go to school when the weather was bad. We couldn't then afford a carriage, so I simply decided I would no longer go to school to be kept home whenever the skies frowned. Such education as I managed to get, therefore, was derived from books, and for a couple of years from the visits of various none-too-adept hourly teachers. I was insatiably ambitious, and frequently, returning from some visit which I had made with my father, ordered my teacher to instruct me in this or that, so that I would cease feeling ignorant and embarrassed.

When I confessed to my father that I had passed the examinations, having studied in secret and never failing to play my nightly game of whist with him, so he would suspect nothing — he drew me gently and lovingly to him and announced, 'You will never be married.'

My heart sank. I distinctly remember how it sank. I desired marriage. I had fully intended to marry. Nevertheless, the immediate goal of College Education seemed to me at the moment even more delectable. So bravely, though not without a twinge of misgiving, I declared my willingness to forego all chances of winning a husband.

Papa was tremendously concerned. He kissed me tenderly as I sat upon his lap. 'Men hate intelligent wives,' he declared, with a finality that it never occurred to me to question. Doubtless then and there

I recited to myself the verses that were going the rounds at the time:

'Where are you going, my pretty maid?'
'I'm going to lecture, sir,' she said.

'May I come with you, my pretty maid?'
'You won't understand it, sir,' she said.

'What is the subject, my pretty maid?'
'The final extinction of man,' she said.

'Then you won't marry, my pretty maid?'
'Superior girls never marry, sir,' she said.

So having passed I proceeded to follow the instructions of the Handbook.

Twice a year, once in the autumn and once in midwinter, I was granted interviews with various august professors, who admonished me to read a certain number of chapters in certain books. For instance, the Professor of English would tell me to read Bain's *Higher English Grammar, Syntax and Analysis*, pages 264 to 331; Stopford Brooke's *English Literature*, pages 1 to 108; Addison's *Selections from the Spectator*, edited by Arnold, pages 157 to 185. In February, I would be told to read in Bain, pages 14 to 114, in Brooke, pages 108 to 185, and so on.

Two examinations were held, one called the Intermediate which began on the last Monday in January, and one called the Concluding, beginning on the Monday of the third week preceding Commencement.

Never can I forget the devastating sense of desolation that swept over me when I read my first examination paper. The world — hitherto a friendly, one might say an admiring, world — crumbled at my feet. Faithfully and conscientiously I had read the pages assigned to me, their content I was sure I knew; yet I could make nothing at all of the questions before me!

As I grew calmer, I realized where the trouble lay. The Professor had, it is true, told me to read certain pages and I had done so; but he had calmly proceeded to base his questions, not on the textbooks assigned, but entirely upon the lectures which he had given to his classes — lectures which I, of course, had not been permitted to attend.

There were numerous references and allusions to theories, and even to facts, concerning which I had not the slightest knowledge. Here was I, who had been introduced all winter as the daring miss who would measure her mentality with masculine brains; here was I, who had been endeavoring to become an honor and an example to the rest of my sex — staring hopelessly at my very first examination paper!

Was I, then, to flunk what hosts of boys would pass? Perish the thought! Getting a grip on myself, I answered fully such questions as I understood, and then coolly wrote in the examination paper that certain of the questions evidently referred to the Professor's lectures, which I had not had the privilege of hearing.

The Professor had a sense of justice — or possibly, a sense of humor — for he passed me.

CHAPTER III

A LITTLE more than a year after this interview with my father, I was married. My decision not to continue with the Collegiate Course for Women gave hostages to the enemy. Frequently, both in and out of my hearing, remarks were passed, such as, 'Only unattractive girls, undeniable spinsters, are really interested in the Higher Education of Women!'

The truth was simply that having married a man who was entirely sympathetic with my literary ambitions, it was no longer necessary for me to read and write under cover, as it were, of the Columbia examinations. As a young girl to have refused to pay the innumerable calls upon my aunts and cousins which polite behavior required, in order merely to finish an entrancing book, would have been inexcusable. But if I were cramming for an examination, it was forgiven. Even as the head of my own house, as a young married woman, it was none too easy to secure time for reading and writing undisturbed. I recall the embarrassment of my little maid when I refused to see a sister-in-law during the morning hours which I kept strictly for myself. In those days — at least for the female — all one's outside engagements were made with the understanding that they would be kept unless

someone dropped in just as one was leaving the house. The laws of hospitality — for women — were as the laws of the Medes and Persians. No matter how urgent or delectable was the errand about to be performed, one must never permit a visitor to suspect the inopportuneness of her arrival. One must receive her with graciousness, whatever sentiments were curdling within.

I had received really very little if any inspiration or help from the Professors with whom I had contact. The only one who might have meant much to me was the man at the head of the German Department, Hjalmar Boyesen. He was the author of several novels, and I was thrilled to meet him. Moreover, he was a splendid-looking man, a shaggy Norse hero, eyes, hair, and build. But alas, since I was a Jewess, he persisted in ordering me to read Goethe and Schiller. He refused to credit my statement that I didn't even know the German alphabet. My statement that my parents didn't converse in German, that they didn't even know a word of the language, he looked upon as a kind of pose. Not knowing that there were Jews from the earliest days of America, he was astounded to learn that both my parents had been born in this country, and my parents' parents as well. Finally I succeeded in convincing him that one of my great-grandfathers had fought in the War of Independence, and that another had been a Trustee of Columbia College, and had assisted in the Inauguration of

President Washington. Meanwhile, much time had been lost, and I didn't make very rapid progress in the language when at last the Professor consented to hand me books suitable for beginners.

But there was one privilege in being a student at Columbia I was not willing to forego — the use of the Library. The policy of the College was, and is now, exceedingly liberal, extending its privileges to all who had been students even for a short period. But although theoretically young women were welcomed here on precisely the same terms as the men, it was impossible for them to move the heavy oaken doors without the assistance of masculine brawn. Even to come as far as the stone steps before it, and stand there helplessly awaiting some kind of 'Open Sesame,' one had survived the ordeal of approaching through a double row of grinning young men lined along the path through the campus, young torturers who emitted ironic cheers as one of their number sprang forth chivalrously to the rescue of maidenhood in distress.

Frightfully disconcerting! And frightfully thrilling! Discussions raged among the women students. Was it more ladylike to ignore these courtesies and enter the forbidding doors without vouchsafing even so much as a glance at the adventuring youth, or was it permitted to utter a timid 'Thank you' to a man to whom One Had Not Been Introduced?

I was among those matter-of-fact young women who counseled an acknowledgment, arguing that if we

did this without too much embarrassment, and continued our way with as much nonchalance as it was possible to assume, the boys would the sooner weary of their sport, and permit us to approach the Library in peace. And yet perchance the conservatives were right after all. Once let the bars down, and permit young ladies to speak to young men to whom they had not been formally introduced, and there would be no limit to the boldness of the hussies!

Does this seem too trivial? It should not. For these young ladies who suffered these agonies of indecision were actually pioneers. They it was whose struggles and indignities blazed the difficult trails that years later would be smooth to the feet of their daughters and granddaughters.

For this was the year 1885. It is never easy to orientate oneself, to judge the moral and spiritual difficulties of a bygone age, by the *mores* of a later generation. Possibly to recall to the reader some of the outer events of the day, will be of help in this:

For the national and political picture: In that year William M. Evarts was elected United States Senator from New York, Grover Cleveland, who had been Governor of New York State, was elected President, while William R. Grace was Mayor of the City of New York. General Grant was buried with national honors, and his body rested in a small, modest grave on Riverside Drive while New York struggled to raise the huge sum (it seemed huge then) that was needed

for a worthy monument. Prince Bismarck was still living, as were General Sherman and Jefferson Davis. Gladstone was still in office. The Fall of Khartoum shocked the world.

In the arts, sciences, and religion: Edwin Booth was still acting and Theodore Thomas still led the concerts of the New York Philharmonic. Leopold Damrosch died that year and was succeeded by his son, Walter. Moody, of Moody and Sankey fame, was preaching. Charles Dickens was living. Darwin had been dead only three years, and Professor Huxley unveiled his statue in the British Museum. 'Josh Billings' died that year in California, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, father of the distinguished jurist who has just died at the ripe age of ninety, was celebrating his seventy-sixth birthday. Whittier and Lord Tennyson were still alive, and in this year, James Russell Lowell gave the address on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Coleridge in Westminster Abbey. Miss Mary Anderson made a farewell speech at the close of her London season, and Patti sang 'Home, Sweet Home,' as an encore, with great success.

Driving was a fashionable, roller-skating a popular, diversion.

Externals now so familiar to us all were in the making. The Adirondack State Reservation was yet to be, and after much bickering Niagara at last had become a State Park. St. Augustine, Florida, had become

of recent years a place of great fashion. Bedloe's Island had finally been chosen as the site for Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, and the hundred thousand dollars still needed for the erection of a pedestal was being feverishly collected, even while the French ship-of-war, the *Isère*, was bringing the statue across the Atlantic.

In the college world, the one-hundred-and-thirty-first Commencement of Columbia College took place at the Academy of Music. Mark Hopkins, ex-President of Williams, was still alive, but in his eighty-third year. He was the great educator and leader in educational progress to whom President Garfield had made his magnificent tribute anent true college education. But advanced ideas concerning women's education were germinating slowly. The catalogue of a School for Young Ladies in Norfolk, Virginia, declares its aims to be molded in accordance with the principle that 'a woman's province in life is to throw herself heartily into the pursuits of others rather than to have pursuits of her own.' Even college-bred women were timid in asserting themselves. For instance, a letter to *Harper's Weekly* reveals the possibility of a woman being chosen as President of Vassar College; but one of the fair Alumnae 'devoutly hopes' that a man and not a woman will be chosen. 'There are plenty of women,' she admits, 'fitted by nature and by education to adorn the position, but the right sort of man can inspire girls better.' Still

the movement is growing. An editorial reads: 'The experiment of the "Harvard Annex," or the separate pursuit of the University by ladies under the University professors, is an experiment no longer. It has been so successful that the applications for the next year are more numerous than ever. Yet it is impossible to accommodate more pupils in the present narrow quarters.'

CHAPTER IV

THE Columbia Library building, at Forty-Ninth Street and Madison Avenue, had been completed only two years before at a cost of four hundred thousand dollars. Plenty of books were hidden away in ugly stacks, but there were many thousands of handsomely bound volumes on the open shelves which ran about the high walls in two tiers. A platform with a decorative iron rail around it gave access to the upper one, from which one could look down on the readers at the tables with their green-shaded lamps, up at the lovely vaulted ceiling of carved oak, and at the stained-glass windows which added to the general ecclesiastical effect. These magnificent volumes, mostly bound in full levant and exquisitely tooled, were the gift of Stephen Whitney Phoenix, of the Class of 1859, and formed what was known as the Phoenix Library.

Whatever inadequacies there were in the Collegiate Course for Women seemed more than made up for in the opportunity of browsing here.

After all, for all our theories, experiments, discussions, and what not concerning the best methods of education, can anything be much better than being turned loose among good books?

In this I did not agree with Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

> 'Sublimest danger, over which none weeps,
> When any young wayfaring soul goes forth
> Alone, unconscious of the perilous road,
>
> To thrust his own way, he an alien through
> The world of books.'

And yet I — and all my girl friends of the period — adored her. As I sat, a year or so ago, among the audience of the play, *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*, the ignorance of the present generation concerning the original of Miss Cornell's impersonation seemed incredible to one who as a girl had reveled in the romance of her life and eagerly learned whole passages of her poetry by heart. How underscored and dog-eared was that magic scene where Aurora proposes to her beloved:

> 'But I love you, sir;
> And when a woman says she loves a man,
> The man must hear her though he love her not.'

Elizabeth Barrett Browning was bracketed in our affections with the author of *Jane Eyre*. From each we derived the same virginal thrill.

A library, especially a college library, may be a place of ghosts and shadows. Or it may be a place overflowing with dynamic energy, as up and doing as a modern business office. Before the coming of Melvil Dewey as Librarian of Columbia College in

1883, the College Library had not gathered together a number of small departmental libraries scattered among the various departments. By the time I had begun to study at Columbia, the new Library had just begun to function in the new building, which the local press of the day called 'the most beautiful Library Building in the world.'

Suddenly the place becomes alive. It is full of a driving force. It becomes something more than a place for study and contemplation. Something has happened, too, to each and every one of the attendants. Briskness, alertness, service, become the order of the day. The Library becomes a school for the training of librarians.

The Reading Room, the catalogues, the books on the open shelves and, equally, those that are hidden away in the great stacks, exist for the reader, to smooth his way, to make pleasant and profitable the path of the inquiring scholar. The entire resources of the Library are marshaled.

Returning to visit the Library after I had discontinued taking the Collegiate Course, I was deeply impressed by the vivid personality of the new Librarian.

Melvil Dewey was a tall, loosely jointed man, built on generous lines. His voice was as big and hearty as his huge body. From the very first one sensed a bigness that was not merely structural. Here were vision and idealism, with plenty of pur-

poseful punch to put them over! Although Dewey's immediate prepossession was the establishing of the Library as a living force in education, and the training of librarians imbued with this ideal, there was room in his mind, as he soon proved, for other enthusiasms.

Dewey was a graduate of Amherst and had been its Librarian for three years before leaving to take the position at Columbia. He had founded the American Library Association and the *Library Journal*, which became the official organ of all libraries of the United States and Great Britain; and was, moreover, the founder of the Library Bureau and of the New York Library Club.

Once installed in this new position, he promptly started the *Quarterly Magazine of Library Notes*, and founded the Columbia College School of Library Economy. Besides all this, he managed to incorporate the Children's Library Association, which, in a praiseworthy attempt to root out the growing love of the untutored child for trashy literature, undertook to supply the poor children of New York with good books and illustrated papers. And, on the side, being an extremely active member of the American Meteorological Society, and its Secretary, he originated the system of Standard Time.

What more natural than that such a man should pause for a few moments to initiate the movement that was to lead to the founding of New York's first,

and for many years, its only, woman's college! One day, during a conversation with Mr. Dewey, I told him how utterly futile I considered the much-boasted-of Collegiate Course for Women and how greatly a real collegiate training for them seemed to me to be needed in the city. It was as if a lighted match had been thrown upon a ready-built bonfire. His enthusiasm was contagious. Of course there should be a college for women in New York; there must be! We must obtain one! He agreed with me that the present scheme was utterly absurd. Obviously, if women could get from a few examinations all that men got from daily intercourse with Faculty and with students, and from hundreds of lectures, and work in the laboratories, then either women were miraculously gifted or else — and this was an alternative pretty serious to contemplate — all the millions and millions at the moment locked up in college endowments, in laboratories and lecture halls, were just so much sheer waste!

To all of this I wholeheartedly agreed. But what was to be done about it? What could *I* do about it?

Why, start a college for women myself. That was all.

I to start a college — a young woman of twenty, not even a graduate of a college myself, not even the graduate of a school! The wife of a physician comfortably enough off, but certainly not possessing any fortune, not rich even according to the modest stand-

ards of the day, how was I to get the wherewithal to make even the first tiny beginnings? And, serious obstacle, although both of my parents had at one period entered actively into New York society, at the time of which I write I possessed practically no important social connections at all, knew none of the people who would inevitably have to be the ones to launch such a movement. I even knew few, if any, of the men and women who were interested in the problems of education. Yet to start a college for women in New York! It might well be thought a preposterous and ridiculous idea! And yet to me, while it was certainly startling and challenging, it wasn't ridiculous. I was tremendously eager to accomplish something worth while, to meet some great test. The fact that the job was bristling with difficulties — some of them seemingly insurmountable — made it all the more thrilling to undertake, all the more worth while.

When, a few months later, I called upon old Mrs. Wendell, the mother of the distinguished Harvard Professor, she had actually wept (so she afterward confided to me) thinking of 'that sweet young girl wasting her life in the impossible attempt to found a woman's college connected with Columbia.' She was certain that the slender, frail-looking bride, who tipped the scales at less than a hundred pounds, had no conception of the struggle that lay before her or of the discouraging failures of the past.

It was nearly thirty years after this that one day

glancing at my daughter, who had by then reached the age at which I was when I was working to start the College, the whole thing seemed fantastic. Not only would it be difficult to make anyone else believe it, but could I believe it myself!

'You little shrimp,' I called out, 'do you mean to tell me that I looked as absurdly young as you when I was calling on all those dignitaries!'

As a matter of fact, she must have looked far more mature, for she weighed at least twenty pounds more than I did at her age.

CHAPTER V

I NOW set myself to accomplish five tasks:

First, to acquaint myself thoroughly with the entire national situation. What colleges in the United States were open to women? Where were they located and how long had they been in existence? Also were these coeducational, 'Annexes,' or separate colleges for women? I was so naïve and misinformed as to be greatly surprised when Mr. Arthur Gilman, Secretary of the Harvard Annex, wrote me that so far as he knew no college in the country was self-supporting.

Second, to get in touch personally with every man and woman in the neighborhood of New York who might possibly support the movement to establish a college for women, whether this support were to be financial or solely advisory, or even if it meant mere social approval.

Third, to strengthen public opinion in favor of the higher education of women, by every method possible, not alone through personal talks, but by means of interviews and letters in the daily papers, as well as editorials inspired or written by myself. With this objective I arranged for the publication of carefully prepared articles by well-known educators, physicians, the Bishop of New York, and other persons of influence, each one aimed to break down one

or another of the various prejudices which I found had gathered about this question of the collegiate education of women.*

Fourth, to win over, both individually and as a body, the Trustees of Columbia College to a plan for the establishment of a college for women, affiliated with Columbia College.

Fifth, to build up a body of men and women who would command the confidence of the public and would undertake to direct this college.

In the accomplishment of the fourth task, I was soon to interview every member of the Columbia Board. Not one escaped.

The interest of President Barnard in the education of women would, of course, be taken for granted, as he had for years made his advocacy known. But I knew enough of the politics of the situation to realize that to most of the Trustees the backing of President Barnard would have little weight, might indeed be a detriment. For it was said that, in spite of his logic and eloquence, his strong views in favor of coeducation, vehemently and constantly expressed, had wearied most of these conservative men, and had even estranged some of them. Indeed, it was advantageous to my plan for an affiliated college that President Barnard had never cared for this idea, but had always insisted on coeducation or nothing.

Even though some powerful men in the Church

* See Appendix B.

had approved of the higher education of women, notably among them the gracious Rector of Grace Church who was to become Bishop of New York, another influential dignitary in the same diocese not only disapproved, but gave voice to his disapproval in no uncertain language. 'I shall oppose it to the end!' announced Dr. Morgan Dix, the Rector of Trinity, who was also a Trustee of the College.

For this stand Dr. Dix had been subjected to many attacks. The editor of the *Home Journal* waxed bitterly ironic: 'There is one arithmetic for the boy and another for the girl. The exact sciences are for men; they are bad for women because of their tendency to enlarge the mind and furnish a lodgment for ideas. An enlarged mind is a deformity in the feminine organization, and ideas are as superfluous in a woman as they would be in a bottle of Lubin's extract. They are more than superfluous, they render the possessor uncomfortable to men as lords of creation. They nip the bud of man's egotism, they cut the flower of his self-love, they damage the stalk of his conceit. They cause, moreover, the preacher says, cold shivers to run down his magnanimous back. Now the chief object of the Almighty in the creation of women being to please men — particularly those who are a little narrow in the upper story — it follows that this petition for opening Columbia College lectures, and indeed the whole movement for what is called the higher education of women, but which is

really higher disagreeableness, is a wrong, a monstrous wrong, a high-heeled rebellion against the order of the universe.'

Later the press did its best to make of Dr. Morgan Dix an inconsistent man, and, moreover, a thwarted man. 'In spite of his positive assertion,' chortled one paper, 'in less than a year Dr. Dix was the chairman of a committee that recommended a special course for women, so as to give to such women as desire a college education the advantages of examinations by the college authorities.'

The truth was that, far from being thwarted, Dr. Dix had actually gained his point. For in his Diaries,* and certainly in his work as Chairman of the Select Committee, Dr. Dix does not appear as an enemy of women's education *per se*, but rather as a vigorous and determined opponent of their education with men, or *as if they were men.* This is a subject on which we of today might well seek further enlightenment.

Small wonder that this all bred confusion, for, as I soon pointed out in articles and speeches, the rallying cry of the band of enthusiasts who had thus far carried on the battle amounted in spirit, if not in actual words, to 'Coeducation or No Education!' It was perfectly true that of these enthusiasts Dr. Morgan Dix was their most cogent and eloquent opponent.

* See Appendix A and pages 62 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI

WHAT was implied by this goal of an affiliated college? The course that was established for women students expressly provided that no woman should attend any of the lectures that were given to the men, thus avoiding the complications of a mixing of the sexes in the classrooms. While the authorities at Columbia at first decided to reward the women students only with certificates, it was only a few months before the truly revolutionary resolution was made to confer upon them the academic degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and even Doctor of Philosophy.

I call it revolutionary, for it was a complete and thrilling acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work, a principle which half a century later has by no means come into universal acceptance. Columbia, it should always be remembered, was the first of the men's colleges to offer its higher degrees to properly qualified women graduates of other colleges. Many years later, Yale did this, but without offering any opportunities to undergraduates.

There was tremendous enthusiasm when, in 1886, Miss Winifred Edgerton, a graduate of Wellesley College of the Class of 1883, was the first woman recipient of the Doctorate from Columbia College.

While the announcement of the opening of Colum-

bia's Course was received with much acclaim, it was inevitable that, when the precise nature of this largess was understood, much dissatisfaction should also be aroused. I cannot refrain from quoting the witty commentary made several years later by Barnard's first Dean, Emily James Smith:* 'The Trustees of Columbia College said in effect, "We are not prepared to educate girls; if, however, they can contrive to educate themselves, we will certify the fact."'

Passing examinations without instruction might very well be compared to making bricks without straw. Therefore, a dozen years after the presentation of the Sorosis Memorial, and six years after the meeting at the Union League Club, when another attempt was made to gain the advantages of Columbia for women, it was determined that straw in plenty and of an excellent grade should be provided the brickmakers.

It must be kept in mind that all the other attempts had been attempts to establish coeducation at Columbia. It was generally assumed that the simplest way to throw open to women the advantages of

* Emily James Smith, later Mrs. George Haven Putnam, became Barnard's first dean in 1894, and served in that capacity until 1900. In an article which I wrote on Barnard College, in *Harper's Bazaar*, May 23, 1896, I said: 'Dean Smith is one of those rare women — impossible a quarter of a century ago, but fortunately growing less exceptional every year — who combine high scholarship with executive ability and social charm.'

Columbia College was to have women in the classes side by side with the men. It was so simple that President Barnard, although advocating what is now known by the term, became impatient over the insistence upon a special word to describe it. He protests: 'By whom this word, coeducation, was invented I do not know. It is an odious word and I presume the design of the inventor may have been to prejudice the cause we advocate, by making it seem to be our chief object... while it is purely incidental and unimportant. We might with the same propriety apply the term, coeducation, to the teaching of the Sunday Schools.... We might as well characterize Churches as coeducational institutions.... When I demand for women admission to our colleges, I am demanding for them education, and not the privilege of being educated with men.... I have never used the word, coeducation, and I never shall use it.'

This new movement, *of which Barnard College was the direct outgrowth*, was initiated by 'Certain Friends of the Higher Education of women,' and had for its objective 'the opening and establishment of a college for women to be affiliated with Columbia College.' It never attempted nor desired to establish coeducation, and in so much it differed essentially from any movement which preceded it.

The Trustees of Columbia having seen fit to offer degrees to women without any means of instruction, these new believers in the higher education of women

now came forward to offer to provide, for the attainment of these degrees, buildings, equipment, and instruction. Of the older institution, it might be said they craved only its blessing.

The Chairman of the Academic Committee of Barnard College, in her Report for 1891, declared that: 'The most fortunate thing in the history of this College is that no one seems to have practically perceived the full significance of this clause. Anybody in the City of New York was at perfect liberty to found an annex to Columbia without asking for permission. Fortunately, the permission was asked and granted; fortunately, both parties to the contract were made so responsible that a failure or a blunder on either side was a disgrace to both.'

There is truth in this, but not the whole truth. It most certainly did occur to the early workers for the College that permission was implied in the context of the Circular of Information published by the authorities of Columbia. But one has only to read the Memorial that was presented at this time to realize that it had also occurred to them at the same time that it would be none too easy, under any circumstances, to raise the money for the scheme, and without the public approval of Columbia College, it would be practically impossible.

I realized that the situation that existed in New York was exactly the opposite from that which confronted the people of Boston. Harvard had refused

to grant to women the recognition of its degree, notwithstanding the fact that for some eight years women had been receiving excellent instruction from members of its own august Faculty in the subjects which were prescribed for Harvard students. The Harvard 'Annex,' as it was called, had been brought into existence in order to secure for women the advantages of the lectures and instruction which were given for men at Harvard. But the sole recognition which the conservative old institution conferred upon the 'Annex' was to permit its President to sign the certificates issued by the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women.

This certificate read: 'We hereby certify that under the supervision of this Society —— has pursued a course of study equivalent in amount and quality to that for which the degree of Bachelor of Arts is conferred in Harvard College, and has passed in a satisfactory manner examinations on that course, corresponding to the College examinations. In testimony thereof we have caused these presents to be signed by our President and Secretary and by the Chairman of the Academic Board this day of —— in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ——.'

As I wrote in an article which appeared in the *Nation* of January 28, 1888:* 'In Cambridge, Massachusetts, they have an Annex and are praying for certain conditions that will insure its permanent existence

* See Appendix C.

and success. In New York we have the conditions that would bring permanent existence and success, but we have no Annex.'

This article has been called the first broadside in the campaign for the founding of Barnard College. A copy of it now lies in the cornerstone of Barnard's first building on its present site. It closed with the appeal to 'begin at once to organize an association for the collegiate instruction of women by Professors and other Instructors of Columbia College.' *

It was hoped that enough money could be raised to secure some rooms in the neighborhood of Columbia College where certain members of the Columbia Faculty could repeat to women the lectures which they gave to their men students. Not alone was it necessary to secure instruction for the women, but, obviously, since it was to be crowned by the degrees of Columbia College, the instruction must command the confidence of the Columbia authorities. The simplest and surest way to secure this confidence, and also the confidence of the public, was to engage the services of those upon whom Columbia had already set the seal of its approval — in other words, the members of its own Faculty.

* Dr. William Tenney Brewster, then Provost of Barnard, said in an article of the *Columbia University Quarterly*, March, 1909, 'That there were really enough women in New York who wished a higher education... was well known to a number of people and was ably set forth by Mrs. Alfred Meyer in a letter to the *Nation* in the issue of January 20, 1888.'

It was not so difficult to persuade the professors to give additional instruction at an affiliated college as might have been expected. To begin with, many of the heads of departments thought it a shame to refuse admission to women, and not alone gladly offered to teach the women students, but offered to teach them, if necessary, without further compensation. Moreover, since the younger members of the staff were neither so busy nor so well paid as today, it had been their custom for some years to add to their income by lecturing in one fashionable school or another. Indeed, the schools vied with one another in giving publicity to the fact that some distinguished Columbia professor gave instruction to their fortunate young ladies.

It is true that while the men and women who started Barnard College never asked Columbia to grant coeducation, nevertheless, almost all of them would have subscribed to President Barnard's dictum: 'The establishment of an annex is desirable only if considered as a step toward what I think must come sooner or later, and that is the opening of the College proper to both sexes equally.' But I had never looked upon the affiliated college as a mere sop to be thrown over as soon as something better could be wrested from Columbia.

In an article which I wrote for the *Evening Post* in 1891, I took exception to some of the statements made by Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer in the September

Forum of that year. I was duly grateful for her suave acceptance of the fact that 'the affiliated college is one of the three tolerably clear, consistent, and accredited types of education.' This, coming from the former President of Wellesley College, was a concession, but I objected strongly to her remark that the Harvard Annex was typical of what might be accomplished by the affiliated college. Mrs. Palmer denied that Barnard could be deemed a true Annex because all of her teaching was not by the teaching force of Columbia. Before proving the distinguished lady in the wrong, with entire good humor I quoted from 'The Nightingale,' a poem by my cousin Emma Lazarus.

> 'No bird is this; it soars beyond my line.
> Were it a bird, 'twould answer to my law.'

I recall with what satisfaction I assured Mrs. Palmer that, although all of Barnard's teaching force did not necessarily teach at Columbia, Columbia 'assumed all responsibility for the instruction given at Barnard, not alone, as was commonly supposed, by merely conferring its degree upon Barnard graduates, but by passing officially upon all appointments made by Barnard College.' * Furthermore, all examinations were conducted by Columbia. Since the friends of Barnard naturally stressed the fact that it was then the only Annex whose graduates won the degree of the parent college, Mrs. Palmer protested with some

* See Appendix H.

acerbity that we displayed an unholy worship of the degree. In my *Evening Post* article I rejoined that 'the degree ought to mean precisely as much to a woman as to a man.'

At that period there were many of those defiant coeducationalists who 'despised all Annexes,' who approved of no half measures. It may be said that these would have cheerfully let women wait until doomsday for college education rather than accept one iota less than the admission of women to all classes of the men's colleges. As a significant protagonist of that attitude, I well recall a disdainful woman from the West who arose at a meeting of the International Council of Women and, while I listened in amusement, scornfully declared: 'I want to say here tonight that those bright, enthusiastic, large-brained, and big-hearted young women of the West, those young women who have in their eyes the distant horizons of their prairie homes, will have nothing to do with Annexes.'

However, three years later, in 1891, in an article in the *New York Evening Post*, after quoting the words of this fire-eater, I was able to write complacently: 'There seems to be a great step forward from this scornful utterance to the statement in Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer's "Review of the Higher Education of Women" in the September *Forum*, that "The affiliated college is one of the three tolerably clear, consistent, and accredited types of education."'

I confess to a pride in having defended the affiliated college at a time when it was neither popular nor understood. To me nothing in the education of women mattered so much as the creation of right standards, and this was effected by the establishment of the affiliated college. My faith was surely justified, for in 1891 I was happy to proclaim (to the Council of Women in Washington) as an established fact: 'Barnard College *is* Columbia.' *

In the archives of Barnard College, I recently came across a piece of writing bearing on this. It is in the handwriting of the then Chairman of the Academic Committee, with whom I remember to have collaborated in its preparation: 'Barnard College was founded in the belief that an annex whose parent college guarded the dignity of its degree... would not be the transition between the separate college and the coeducational college, but the solution of the problem.'

* In his address on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Barnard College, President Butler said: 'As between these three types of institution (separate college, coeducation, and affiliated college) we are not called upon to choose. The choice was made for us a quarter of a century ago, partly by the conditions that exist in the City of New York, and partly as the result of the cogent and persuasive argument of Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, who has been through all these years a Trustee of Barnard College.'

CHAPTER VII

'*To the* HONORABLE HAMILTON FISH,
Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Columbia College.

'*Dear Sir:* —

'The undersigned would respectfully represent to your Honorable Board the great desirability of establishing in connection with Columbia College some provision for the instruction of women whereby the examinations and degrees recently opened to women may be made truly available and many-fold more valuable.

'It is our belief that this can be accomplished by an annex similar to Girton and Newnham Colleges, and Somerville and Lady Margaret Halls, in Cambridge and Oxford Universities and to the Harvard Annex, which have so clearly demonstrated their practical usefulness under circumstances less advantageous than those at Columbia. This course would secure for women all the advantages now enjoyed by the College man without in any way introducing co-education. If the Trustees are willing to give their official sanction to the movement of establishing an annex, and to co-operate in its success in all reasonable ways which do not lay new burden on the College Treasury (if the Trustees are not prepared to undertake the

financial burden of such an annex), it is believed that a Society for the instruction of women by the professors and other instructors of Columbia College under management entirely satisfactory to your Honorable Board would be incorporated and would undertake to raise the funds to meet the necessary expenses of this important undertaking.

'If the money must be raised independently of the College, it is evident that no substantial progress can be made till your Honorable Board has given the public its assurance of approval and co-operation.

'With such assurance friends of Woman's higher education would be encouraged to strong efforts to meet this great and rapidly growing want in the metropolis.'

This was the Memorial written by the joint efforts of Melvil Dewey, Mary Mapes Dodge, and Annie Nathan Meyer.

I think, but I am not sure, that it was Mrs. Longstreet who gave me a letter of introduction to Mrs. Dodge, who was then the editor of the popular children's magazine, *St. Nicholas*. I can remember going to see her in her roomy apartment on West Fifty-Ninth Street, overlooking Central Park. Mrs. Dodge welcomed me warmly and gave much excellent advice. She saw to it that I met the women most likely to be interested in a scheme for starting a college for women in New York. And she used the editorial blue pencil

on the wording of the Memorial itself. She was a warm-hearted, generous, kindly soul, with a delightful sense of fun.

The Memorial was signed by a little more than half a hundred names. There was no attempt made to exceed the large number of signatures which had been obtained for the Memorial of 1883. But each of the small number of signatures stood for something definite in the community.* Mr. Fish told me that it was the best set of signatures he had ever seen attached to any document of its kind. My uncle, Jonathan Nathan, had been Governor Fish's personal attorney and political adviser while he had held office, and a warm friend for many years. Naturally, when in the course of interviewing the Trustees of Columbia College, I called upon the Chairman of the Board to ascertain whether he was opposed to sanctioning an affiliated college, he received me most graciously. Moreover, he gave me some excellent advice, assuring me that large numbers of signatures did not impress nearly as much as a few highly significant ones. He confessed that it was not an infrequent experience, when he was Governor of the State of New York, to receive a petition begging him to do something, while another equally eloquent petition lay on his desk beseeching him not to do so and signed by many of the same petitioners!

After this illuminating talk with Governor Fish, I

* See Appendix D.

determined that the Memorial which was to appear before the Trustees of Columbia College should impress them with the sincerity and conviction of each signer. Among them were thirteen ministers, four lawyers, an ex-Judge of the State Supreme Court, five doctors, five educators, including the Presidents of the two City Colleges, four editors, four men of importance in the world of finance, the President of the Board of Education, one representative of an old, distinguished New York family, one railroad president, one ex-Mayor of New York, two women who led in important philanthropic work, four literary women, and three women who were important only as being the wives of influential men.

One wonders, if such a Memorial were being prepared today, whether so large a proportion of the signers would be ministers. Probably not. But it was argued at the time that each minister stood, not alone for himself, but for his large and influential and — one ventured to hope — wealthy congregation.

Of all the ministers, I was most profoundly impressed by Arthur Brooks, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation at Thirty-Fifth Street and Madison Avenue. It needed no persuasion to secure his signature; nor did his interest need to be awakened for the higher education of women. He was already heart and soul for it. He regarded it actually as a means of salvation. The head of a fashionable church, he saw with dismay among the women of his congregation

the tragic waste of good material, realized to the full the emptiness of aimless lives. Arthur Brooks knew and valued the solace of mental training. In his article for the series which I later edited for the *New York Evening Post*, he attacked the superstition that education meant irreligion: 'The fear that knowledge will destroy faith is an old one.... The revival of knowledge for men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was viewed with the same apprehension.... There is no reason to dread the new step. Once the question of an educated clergy was under discussion... that battle has been fought and gained. Now we have passed on to the question of an educated womanhood. ... The religious nature is not going to be killed by education; it is going to be developed, to have new material given it upon which to work, to be made a more effective instrument for the world's conversion and regeneration than it ever was before.'

Brave words for nearly fifty years ago! There was more in the article of the same sort of argument, all of which was tremendously helpful to the struggling movement, as it quieted the qualms of those who were hesitating to give their approval.

In an article in the *Columbia Quarterly*, June, 1900, Dean Emily James Smith Putnam aptly says of him, 'It was Dr. Brooks's special gift to be able to convince people who had never felt it that there is such a thing as hunger and thirst after learning.'

Most of the signatures to the Memorial were given

willingly, though it was necessary to persuade a few as to the wisdom or timeliness of the movement. 'Moral support,' which was of course enormously important, was far easier to secure than financial support. I don't think that anyone actually refused to sign the petition, however reluctant a few appeared to be at first.

While it took considerable mental effort to decide upon the names that would be most impressive to the Trustees of Columbia, the physical effort involved in getting the signatures was far greater. And it was not easy in those days to find a person at home. There were no telephones to prepare the way. One either sent crawling messenger boys with a written note requesting the favor of an interview, or else one went to the house again and again until the quarry was bagged. One chose, if one were wise, a time near, but not too near, the dinner hour. After, not before, the meal. Naturally this policy played havoc with one's own dinner hour; but that was a minor consideration. It was sometimes possible to catch women, educators, ministers, doctors, and authors at home and in a favorable frame of mind immediately after lunch. Editors and bankers were best seen at their offices. I had no carriage of my own, nor was I sufficiently affluent, in those early days of my husband's practice, to afford to hire one. Every evening, when I returned from one or two interviews, I would be obliged to lie flat on my back in order to get up

strength enough to go on with the next day's work.

Looking back across the years, many of the signers of the Memorial still stand out vividly to the elderly woman who, when she was a young bride, appealed to them for their support.

There was Dr. Fordyce Barker, a distinguished physician to the fashionable, who had attended General Grant and of whom Charles Dickens, during his visit to America in 1887, had written to James Fields, 'I have been obliged to call in a doctor — Dr. Fordyce Barker, a very agreeable fellow.'

The Reverend Richard Storrs, who had been one of the signers of the giant Memorial of 1882, and one of the speakers at the Union Club Meeting, was of course also a signer of the new Memorial. Dr. Storrs was one of the finest-looking men in America. Nearing his seventieth year, he was about a year younger than another warm believer in the higher education of women, George William Curtis, whom he closely resembled. Both men had beautiful clear, pink skins and the whitest of hair, and long, flowing whiskers also of pure white. Both men were in appearance, in spirit, in intellectual attainment, and in a certain fine urbanity and reticent charm, representatives of the very best that America has produced. George William Curtis, who had been the editor of *Harper's Weekly* for nearly thirty years, was the first President of the National Civil Service Reform League at a time

when its principles had an unimaginably hard fight for recognition. So reluctant was he to endanger its success that he twice refused the great honor of becoming the American Minister to the Court of St. James's.

Chauncey Depew signed enthusiastically. I made an appointment to see him at his office in the Grand Central Station and had written that I would take only ten minutes of his valuable time. In reply he had expressed, in polite phraseology, his profound skepticism of this. Therefore, during the entire interview I stood — having refused to be seated — with watch in hand. I told him I wanted to prove to him that at least one woman could keep her word. He was considerably amused at this, and for the first time, although happily by no means the last, I was privileged to hear his hearty laugh, the laugh — one would think — of a man without a care in the world. The knowledge that few men in the country bore heavier responsibilities added to the pleasure of hearing that spontaneous, care-free guffaw.

There stands out clearly the memory of Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine*. He was a most gracious and gentle poet with dark, velvety eyes, a sensitive face and a sensitive soul, responsive to every manifestation of beauty. His was a valiant spirit, too, aflame with the zeal of good citizenship, for he was a leader in every high service of his time, whether artistic, literary, or social.

Of course no persuasion was needed to secure the

signature of Josephine Shaw Lowell. Although giving herself unsparingly for the betterment of all humanity, she had always kept before her the special interests of her sex. Her mellow wisdom and her nicely balanced sense of justice kept her from ascribing to women all the virtues. When the more strident of the feminists pointed out to her their inherent superiority over frail Man, she would gently suggest that women 'were still in a measure removed from the necessity of accommodating the ideal to the details of the actual.' What an inspiration she was! I was to see a good deal of her a few years later when she succeeded in enlisting the valiant services of my sister in one of her pet creations, the Consumers' League.

When, in 1906, Mrs. Lowell passed on, a poem by Richard Watson Gilder appeared, called 'A Woman of Sorrows.'

> 'It was but yesterday she walked these streets.
> Making them holier. How many years
>
> With all her widowed love immeasurably
> She ministered unto the abused and stricken
> And all the oppressed and suffering of mankind —
> Herself forgetting, but never those in need.'

CHAPTER VIII

WHILE the first Board of Trustees for the new college was being slowly and carefully made up, I was industriously interviewing each member of the Board of Trustees of Columbia.

I found these gentlemen, almost without exception, cordial and co-operative. In the rare cases in which I failed to win warm interest, I at least secured the promise not to disapprove when the Memorial came up for final consideration. Very little opposition was encountered to the plan for a separate college for women to be run and financed by a separate Board of Trustees, the instruction to be given by members of the Faculty of Columbia College, the graduates to receive the Columbia degree.

It is certainly true, as President Butler has more than once pointed out, that it is a 'myth' that Barnard College had to overcome the stubborn resistance of Columbia. It was to coeducation that the Trustees of Columbia had been definitely opposed and this had led to the unfounded report that they frowned upon the education of women. Until then, no other body had come before them seeking permission to open an affiliated college for women.

There had been, it is true, some sort of attempt on the part of an ambitious head of a fashionable private

school for young ladies to have her institution, while still bearing her name, accepted as the female department of Columbia; but of this the Trustees naturally fought shy. It was inevitable, therefore, that they should scrutinize with great care the motives of the young woman who now approached them. So far as they could see, she had no personal axe to grind. It was not conceivable that she should seek any position for herself on the executive staff, since married women in those days did not attempt to hold professional positions. Any position on the teaching staff was impossible, not only for this reason, but chiefly because the instruction was to be given wholly by members of the Faculty of Columbia College. It was very certain, moreover, that even if in time there should be an exception and a woman were appointed to the Faculty, it would be a woman with an impressive collection of letters after her name. Their petitioner had not a single letter to hers.

One of the very first of Columbia's Trustees to be interviewed was Seth Low, who had been, not long before, Mayor of Brooklyn, and who, four years later, was to become Mayor of Greater New York. He gave his visitor, both then and at subsequent interviews, valuable advice as to the particular argument which would have the greatest weight with each of his colleagues on the Board. With his characteristic deep chuckle, he used to dub her 'a regular Brooklyn politician.' This was in 1888. A little more than a

year later, he was elected the eleventh President of Columbia College.*

In his inaugural address, in reply to the welcome of the Alumni, a welcome offered by Frederic R. Coudert, President of the Alumni and a Trustee of Barnard College, the new President said: 'I rejoice with you, sir, that in Barnard College Columbia has found a way in which she can with heartiness co-operate in advancing the higher education of women.... For its name's sake and for its work's sake, Barnard College may rest assured of my hearty and willing help.'

Mrs. Seth Low was an Associate Member of the College from the very beginning and in 1891 became

* The inauguration of Seth Low as President of Columbia College was held at the Metropolitan Opera House, on February 2, 1890. The men members of Barnard's Board of Trustees were invited to march in the academic procession and sit on the stage immediately behind the Trustees of Columbia. The women Trustees were seated in two boxes. They sat in most luxuriously upholstered chairs, and not only were far more comfortable than they could have been on the stage, but they undoubtedly heard the speeches far better. Nevertheless, this sex-discrimination rankled. In 1893, when Barnard's first class graduated, it is on record that at the exercises, which took place at Carnegie Hall, there were altogether ninety-six seats reserved for the Trustees and Associate Members of Barnard College. But I was not satisfied and went to President Low and suggested that if the women Trustees were worthy of sitting on the Board of Trustees of Barnard, they were worthy of sitting on the platform with the men. The President, who was an extremely just man, saw the logic of this position, and thereafter, at all public functions, the women Trustees of the affiliated College as well as the women members of her Faculty took their place in the academic procession and upon the platform.

a Trustee, serving on the Finance Committee. It was considered, when that time came, a great feather in Barnard's cap that the wife of the University's President consented to serve on the Board. Mrs. Low was warmly interested in the struggles of the young college and her letters to the Chairman of the Board show her deep concern in the lack of financial support during these early trying days. One of the early parlor meetings was held at her home in East Sixty-Fourth Street.* An engraved invitation beginning to be yellowed with age lies before me as I write. Addresses were promised by the Reverend Arthur Brooks, Chairman of the Board of Trustees; Miss Ella Weed, Chairman of the Academic Committee; Miss E. O. Abbott, Secretary and Registrar of the

* Some of the larger meetings were held in larger assembly halls, especially in Hamilton Hall, Columbia College. Holding them actually within the gates of Columbia was very impressive. It was certainly good psychology, for it proved that the parent college could not be against our efforts to open an affiliated college for women.

It was at one of these Hamilton Hall meetings that word came to us that Mrs. Kinnicutt was bringing Mrs. A. A. Anderson. I shall never forget the thrill that came to me as I looked about knowing that one of the women in the audience was the generous giver of a contingent hundred thousand dollars to Roosevelt Hospital. How we all prayed that the hospital authorities would decide against accepting the terms of her gift! For she had told Mrs. Kinnicutt, who was a close friend of hers, that she wished she had known sooner of the establishment of Barnard College. In due time the gift to the hospital was refused, and the money did come to us. Mrs. Anderson was made a Trustee of the College and served until her death. She was a sweet, unaffected woman of superb common sense, and ultimately our most munificent donor.

College; and Mr. T. G. Croswell, Headmaster of Brearly School.

I can still heartily endorse what I said of President Low in an interview in the *Evening Post* in 1910: 'Too much cannot be said of him during the early struggles of the College. He was interested and helpful from the very start, even when he merely served on the Board of Trustees, before he was President of the College. He was one of the most just men I have ever known and one whose services to Barnard simply cannot be overestimated.' *

Among the Trustees of Columbia who could safely be counted on to help, was Bishop Potter, who, it will be remembered, while Rector of Grace Church had addressed the large meeting at the Union League Club in 1882. He had also been one of the signers of the

* I speak of Mr. Low's sense of justice. Here is one instance of it: He sent me a letter by hand on the evening of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of Barnard College:

'*My dear Mrs. Meyer*,' it reads, 'I was grieved that nothing was said this afternoon of your quite essential services to Barnard College in the early days. I imagine that Mr. Choate's knowledge of details is not large or I think he would not have failed to say the word that ought to have been spoken; but perhaps you will let me say to you, out of my intimate acquaintance with all of Barnard's struggle in the beginning, that I gladly recognize your zeal and courage and energy have been one of the conspicuous influences which have made Barnard College possible.

'Regretting the oversight, quite unintentional, I am sure, on the part of Mr. Choate, and congratulating you upon the fact, whether spoken or not.

'I am sincerely yours

'SETH LOW'

gigantic Memorial which had resulted. He was a man of power and great charm — charm of appearance, charm of manner, charm of voice. Aristocrat to the finger-tips, he was yet at the same time a tried and trusted friend of the wage-earner. At the great Memorial Meeting for the Bishop, significantly held in the vast hall of Cooper Union, the Reverend Percy Stickney Grant, referring to this contradiction, observed: 'The best democrat is apt to be the best aristocrat, for unless a man is a lover of the best things I am not flattered by his willingness to fraternize with me. But to be treated as an equal by those who know and love the best is the final distinction in a democracy.'

On the same occasion, John Mitchell, one-time President of the United Mine Workers, declared: 'In the death of Bishop Potter, the wage-earner of our country lost a real friend and a conscientious and earnest adviser.'

The poet, Richard Watson Gilder, spoke of him as 'our warrior priest.' 'One of the greatest souls I ever met,' cried Booker T. Washington.

His friendship for Barnard College was active and valuable, and it never faltered.

Friendliness to the movement on the part of Ex-Governor Fish has already been mentioned. W. Bayard Cutting was also extremely affable, and so was George Rives, who for a few years before his death served on the Barnard Board. A son of Mr. Rives is

on the present Board. Among other Columbia Trustees who were friendly to the cause were Talbot W. Chambers, John Crosby Brown, Joseph W. Harper, and Charles M. Da Costa, the latter two even helping to the extent of becoming annual subscribers to the fund to support the College. I recall pleasant interviews with Stephen P. Nash and the two Schermerhorns, uncle and nephew, although, on the whole, they remained non-committal.

Of course, there could be no doubt about the stand that would be taken by Dr. Cornelius Agnew, the distinguished ophthalmologist. I was able to see him only once before his death, which must have taken place during April of that year, as it is recorded in the Minutes of the Columbia Board for May 7, 1888. The wife of Dr. Agnew was tremendously interested in women's education, and I remember well the excitement that was caused by the Mayor's appointing her and her friend, Grace Dodge, as members of the Board of Education. It was the first time for women so to serve.

The Reverend Morgan Dix, Rector of Trinity Church, of whom mention has been made, was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Trustees and considered by many the most influential member of the Board. He had been elected a Trustee of Columbia in 1862 and thus, at the time of which I write, had already served on that Board for more than a quarter of a century. Even before that election, he was an

intensely loyal alumnus — A.B., Class of 1848; M.A., 1857, and D.D., 1863 — and the excerpts from his diaries relating to his alma mater's interests,* begin with the year 1854 and extend to 1907.

I had left Dr. Dix to the last from pure funk. I kept putting off the one visit that I dreaded. Perhaps my dread arose from the fact that I knew nothing could be accomplished toward starting a college for women affiliated with Columbia, if Dr. Dix were opposed to it; and that there would be very little, if any opposition by others, if the plan found favor in his eyes. Naturally the crucial importance of this interview made me nervous about it. But there were also other reasons. I knew — or rather I thought I knew — that this influential divine was unalterably opposed to the higher education of women. His supposed implacable enmity toward the sex had become notorious. A short time before, Dr. Dix had preached in Trinity Chapel a series of Lenten lectures concerning women, which had aroused a great deal of highly acrimonious discussion.

However we of today may disagree with the learned doctor's sentiments, however we might have disagreed with them had we heard them when they were uttered nearly half a century ago, we cannot deny that they expressed the earnest convictions of a minister who fervently believed, 'whatever our personal shortcomings, we have a commission from above — a

* Now in Columbiana archives.

message to man from God.' Reading the published lectures from first to last, it is impossible to refuse to acknowledge the sincerity of the opening words, 'Under a strong sense of duty, I proceed.'

If, even at the time they were spoken, the sentiments were behind the best liberal thought of the day, how archaic must they sound to modern ears! Yet a true understanding reveals the fact that they are not so much out of touch with modern thought because of their undoubted conservatism, as because of their idealism. Clearly these lectures were written with the writer's eyes fixed, not upon life, but upon what life ought to be. His mind was filled with the contemplation, not of examples of worldliness, but of other-worldliness. And no one can deny that Dr. Dix expressed his convictions with boldness and vigor; there was no mistaking his meaning.

On the whole, the redoubtable Mrs. Lillie Devereaux Blake, who undertook a series of lectures in rebuttal, had rather the better of the argument. Certainly the trend of events has been kinder to her than to him. And yet certain inaccuracies crept into her fiery reply, which was published under the title, *Woman's Place Today*. For instance, it was scarcely just to claim: 'It is well known that Dr. Dix alone today prevents the opening of Columbia College to women.' Mrs. Blake had actual coeducation in mind and most of his colleagues were as opposed to that as was Dr. Dix. Further, as we have seen, she

made use of the well-worn and rather futile argument that the word 'youth' included girls as well as boys. However the word might have included them in a strictly philological sense, they were certainly far from being included in intention in 1754 when the charter for King's College was granted by George II — a charter reading that it was 'founded for the Education and Instruction of Youth in the Liberal Arts and Sciences.' Arthur Brooks has pointed out how in the eighteenth century such an education was far from including even the majority of the male sex. It was definitely narrowed even to a certain class of the male sex only.

Mrs. Blake called the august head of Trinity Church 'a Rip Van Winkle who had slept, not twenty, but two hundred years.' Some of his sayings certainly do have an archaic ring. For instance, this from the second lecture: 'Woman becomes offensive and detestable when the clamor for rights appears to be taking the form of competition with men on a field which God has reserved for men only.' Or this from the opening lecture: 'We hear no end of talk about "higher education." I suggest that what we wish to know about a woman's education... is whether it is to set out from a true conception of her place, calling and powers; and, if it does not, but is to be conducted on some false theory, aiming at making her what she is not meant to be, it will be, not a higher education, but a lower, whatever the outward form; it will lower

her, and help still more to disorganize the social system.'

On the other hand, Dr. Dix's opponent did exhibit many of the symptoms of that gay and irresponsible mixture of sex-consciousness and self-esteem which I, a dozen or so years later, was moved to describe in a play as 'spread-henism.'

As the time arrived when that visit to Dr. Dix could no longer be put off, an appointment was asked for and most courteously granted. I was so nervous about the interview that, for the first and only time, I implored my husband to accompany me on my errand of persuasion. Dr. Meyer pityingly consented and, with a word of encouragement, left me at the door of the office of the Rector in Wall Street. (When, many years later, he was to raise money for his tuberculosis work, Dr. Meyer said he recalled my panic of that day and realized the sensation in a new and vivid way.) My knees were wobbling, and I could scarcely bear to think what my voice would sound like, if and when I could control it sufficiently to be heard at all.

Dr. Dix was then just past sixty. There was in his handsome face a strange blend of kindness and austerity — an austerity which increased as time went on. His colleague on the Board, Mr. George Rives, in an appreciative little brochure, speaks of Dr. Dix's 'calm and striking presence, his simple, clear and logical method of statement, and his unaf-

fected earnestness of conviction.' He acknowledges Dr. Dix's conservatism, but denies that he objected to change in itself — he was merely 'not willing to agree to innovations unless he was first fully convinced that they would turn out to be improvements.'

Imagine the visitor's amazement on finding herself welcomed with charming grace and suavity. The dreaded ogre was more than friendly. Perhaps he noticed her nervousness and in order to put her at her ease inquired if she were not related to his dear friends, the Harmon Nathans, who had summered for many years in a cottage near his own at Rye Beach. Learning that he was quite right in this surmise, and that his friends were first cousins of hers, his affability became a warm cordiality. I murmured a little thanksgiving to my relatives for coming to my rescue at such a crucial moment. Cheers. The relief was immense.

But a still greater and more important surprise was to follow. Dr. Dix did not beat about the bush. 'There never was any question,' he assured me, 'of the Trustees of Columbia frowning upon such a movement as you have had the wisdom to organize. Somewhere among the Minutes of our Board you will find a Resolution to the effect that if an appeal comes to us for a separately financed College for Women, manned by the instructors of Columbia College, and with proper safeguards as to the dignity and responsibility of its sponsors, it would be approved.'

So that was that! Small wonder that my knees

again began to wobble; but this time not from anxiety, but from the suddenness and completeness with which all anxiety was removed. How much worry, how much thought and labor, how many sleepless nights I should have been spared had I not left this visit to the last! How was it that not a single member of the Board had told me of this Resolution? Were they ignorant of it? Had they known of it and forgotten it? Or, as was very probable, as I came later to find out for myself, had they voted for the Resolution without understanding its import?

The room reeled.

'I know I am supposed to be against woman's education,' the kindly, golden voice continued, 'but I am not. I am against wild women.' Here cold steel entered into the warm gold. 'I disapprove of unwomanly tactics, of creatures who are not men and certainly not women.'

When I closed the door behind me — that door before which I had stood and trembled but a little while before — I knew that the battle was won.*

* In Dr. Morgan Dix's Diaries, we find: '*Feb. 9, 1888*.... At three o'clock or a little before that hour a lady came to see me about a plan for getting up an Annex for Columbia. Her name was Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer. *Mar. 5, 1888*.... The petition for the Annex was presented and referred to a Select Committee to consist of Messrs. Nash, Mitchell, Harper, Dr. Agnew and myself.'

There is nowhere the slightest indication of his, or any Trustee's, antagonism to the idea. On the contrary, as early as May 7, we read: 'A report in favor of the Annex was made.'

Rather touchingly, on the same date and just preceding this entry, 'President Barnard's resignation was received.'

CHAPTER IX

DR. DIX was indeed well posted. Five years before, on February 5, 1883, as we know, a Select Committee of which Dr. Dix was himself Chairman, had been appointed 'to consider a petition addressed to the Board through the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women.' This Committee had made a lengthy report a month later in which the sentiments of the Board were admirably summed up. It may be worth our while here to quote from it rather fully:

'Minutes of the Meeting of the Fifth Day of March, the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three:

'Extract from the report of the Select Committee to whom was referred a petition from certain residents of the City of New York and the neighborhood, asking that women be admitted to the Lectures and Examinations of Columbia College:

'If it were practicable to offer a suggestion to the many eminent signers of the petition now under consideration, your Committee would most respectfully remind them that they have it in their power to make contribution amply sufficient to found and maintain a school for the education of women, and

that they could not in any way so clearly manifest the depth and sincerity of their interest in the subject as by providing such a school to be organized as part of the University and to be under the auspices of its general government while yet entirely detached from its existing departments.'

All this was significant and distinctly encouraging. But listen to the conclusion: 'Should such substantial evidence of the strength of their faith be given, your Committee have no doubt that it would afford great gratification to the Board [this scarcely sounds like a Board absolutely and irrevocably opposed to the higher education of women] and that they would carefully consider how best to develop the growth of so interesting a foundation. But it cannot be expected by anyone acquainted with the actual financial condition of the College that this Board should halt in its present course to plunge into experiments doubtful in principle and in results [here we see conservatism rearing its head], and certain to divert attention and means from the object for which the College was founded.'

That the Association thus addressed had failed to take up the challenge seems to some extent at least to justify my contention that the promoters of this early movement were more interested in securing coeducation than education. As I had indignantly written in a journal called *University*, 'The coeducationalists who will ignore the Annex project are

butting their heads against a stone wall when a nicely swarded path lies before them.'

Two months later this same Select Committee had further amplified its views: 'Your Committee are of the opinion that at present the education of women may best be carried on in schools or colleges of their own, and that these should be so ordered and appointed as to exclude either a merely superficial teaching, or a work so oppressive as to impair the health of the students.'

It was a period when argument flew back and forth concerning woman's power to endure the rigors of a collegiate education without her health's becoming dangerously impaired.* I remember the excited asseverations of its advocates that the bare backs and shoulders of the evening gowns of the frivolous were far more apt to lay the seeds of disease in the so-called frailer sex than was a carefully arranged

* In 1877 President Bartlett of Dartmouth College said: 'Girls cannot endure the hard, unintermitting, and long-continued strain to which boys are subjected.... Were girls admitted to the Latin School [it was not a question of admitting women to college]... they would for a time hold their own.... I should rather fear their success with its penalty of shortened lives or permanently deranged constitutions. You must, in the long run, overtask and injure the girls, or you must sacrifice the present and legitimate standard for a school for boys.'

An eminent classicist, Professor William Everett, declared that 'Greek Literature is not fit for girls,' and said in substance that what was a mental tonic for boys would be dangerous for girls. See *Woman's Work in America*, pp. 26–27.

course of study. Nevertheless, women students were constantly besought to be careful of their health, to eat carefully, to sleep enough, to dress warmly, and at all times to remember that a single breakdown in college gave dangerous ammunition to the enemies of the higher education of women. One young girl who was obliged to leave college because of ill-health attracted more attention than the breakdown of a dozen male students, or of two dozen society girls.

The Select Committee expresses the pious hope 'that means will be provided for establishing educational institutions in this city, in which all reasonable requirements will be met.' But the meat of the whole Report was in the following words: 'When a school of this kind thoroughly furnished for its good work, and conducted with due regard for the laws of physiology and hygiene, and reverence for the principles of the Christian religion, shall ask recognition, we think that a way will be found to connect it with the University system, and to secure to it the advantages of the personal attendance of our College faculty in its several branches of instruction.'

The Report closes on this hopeful note: 'If a considerable number of young women should avail themselves of what is thus offered, it will be an encouragement to wealthy and liberal citizens to contribute freely towards giving the plan a definite and permanent shape, by founding and endowing a department for the education of women, bearing to our College a

relation analogous to that of what is commonly known as an "Annex."' *

Here it was, actually in existence, an official statement that the kind of organization to the creation of which I was devoting my time would receive friendly consideration at the hands of the Board of Trustees of Columbia. And not a soul had breathed the existence of this report until my meeting with Dr. Dix!

It would look as if very little remained to be done. Those who were furthering the movement were jubilant over Dr. Dix's words, but the Minutes in which the Report of the Select Committee was contained were never seen by any member of the new organization. They were dug up some forty years later in the course of the preparation of this book; and that the acceptance of the 'Annex' or affiliated idea had been so complete was a surprise even to the woman to whom Dr. Dix had confided his surmises.†

* The Minute of the Trustees' meeting at which this report was accepted seems to indicate an eagerness on the part of Dr. Dix to have this point understood, for he is shown to have expressed the opinion that the whole report should be printed so that the Trustees' attitude might not be misunderstood. At the same meeting Mr. Gerard Beekman said prophetically that to his mind this action of the Trustees meant the eventual establishment of an annex.

† Provost William Tenney Brewster writes (*Columbia University Quarterly*, March, 1909): 'The view has some currency that these concessions were wrung from an unwilling Board of Trustees. But such is not the case. Practically any time after 1880, Barnard College could have been established if funds for the movement had been forthcoming.'

'But meanwhile,' the Report concluded, 'your Committee can only recommend measures which must be regarded as provisional and tentative.' Thus did the Committee itself characterize the Collegiate Course for Women which was shortly to be announced, and which was beyond question an outgrowth of this Committee * and a direct result of the meeting held at the Union League Club in 1882.

* Dr. Dix's Diaries show that he himself had programmed this course.

CHAPTER X

THE Memorial asking for the endorsement of an affiliated college, which was sent by 'Friends of the Higher Education of Women' and which is found quoted verbatim in an earlier chapter, receives notice in the Minutes of the Meeting of the Trustees of Columbia of March 5, 1888 — less than two months after the publication of my article in the *Nation*. The Minute reads: 'The Chairman presented a communication from the "Friends of Woman's Higher Education" representing the great desirability of establishing in connection with Columbia College some provision for the instruction of women whereby the examinations and degrees recently opened to them may be made truly available and more valuable; which was referred to a Select Committee.'

The Chairman appointed to this Committee Mr. Nash, Dr. Dix, Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Agnew, and Mr. Harper.

At the very next meeting of the Board there appears in the Minutes a significant item, which explains why no notice was sent to these Friends of the Higher Education of Women of the action which was taken by the Board at the Meeting of May 7, 1888. In April, 'The Clerk was granted leave of absence until November 5, 1888.'

In some way the person who was substituting in the place of the Clerk must have failed in his duty, for no reply whatever was sent to the Memorial of February, 1888, and those who had so carefully sponsored it were greatly discouraged. Had a prompt and favorable reply been received, it is probable that the doors of Barnard College would have been opened in the autumn of that year instead of waiting until 1889.

One day, in the following autumn or early winter, I happened to remark to one of the Trustees of Columbia that everything was at a standstill both with regard to raising the money for the women's college and getting together its Board of Trustees, because Columbia had seen fit utterly to ignore the petition. The Trustee expressed himself as amazed — I can't state with certainty whether that Trustee was Mr. Low or Dr. Dix, though I am inclined to believe it was the former — as he had a distinct recollection of favorable action's having been taken as promptly as it was possible to act. Equally amazed, I wrote a letter to the Clerk of the Columbia Board and at last secured a copy of the Resolution which had been passed at the Meeting of May 7, 1888. It read:

'The scheme contemplated by the application is not described with much detail, but from its reference to Girton and other Colleges, and its statements, the Committee infer that it is proposed to secure near the College, a suitable building in which the instruction given in the College can be substantially repeated, by

the same Professors and Instructors, so that women can have in the proposed Annex, the same advantages of continuous teaching that are enjoyed in the College. Viewed in this light, the Committee are quite ready to recommend with qualifications hereafter stated an approval by the Board.'

The qualifications referred to did not seem unreasonable:

'The Committee does not recommend that the College itself should assume any obligation or incur any responsibility in respect to the proposed building.

'The Committee are also of the opinion that before the College should be expected to give anything of an official sanction to the movement, the measures taken by its friends should be so far advanced as to furnish some reasonable security that, once established, the institution will be permanent.

'In this view, the building to be used should be acquired by a corporate body, having Trustees friendly to the project, and approved by the Board of the College.

'The Committee are also of the opinion that the building should be occupied, as are the College Buildings, for purposes of instruction exclusively, and not for the boarding or lodging of students, and that the instruction given in it should be given only by the Professors and Instructors of the College. They also consider that the College should, notwithstanding any support that may be given to the project by the

College, be entirely free to sever all connection with it should it be found not to work satisfactorily.

'The Committee recommend the passage of the following Resolution:

'Resolved: That the Trustees of Columbia College approve in its general features of the plan proposed by Certain Friends of the Higher Education of Women, of providing a building near the College, in which women pursuing collegiate studies can have by the same Professors and Instructors, the same advantages of tuition which are enjoyed by men in the College, but cannot give at present any official sanction to the plan. In reference to any such official sanction in the future, it should, in the opinion of the Board, be subject to the following conditions:

'1. The building to be acquired by the friends of the movement, and without pecuniary aid from the College, or incurring of any pecuniary obligation by it.

'2. The property to be held, and the instruction managed, by an incorporated Association, the Trustees of which, and its name, constitution and regulations should be approved by the Trustees of the College.

'3. The building to be used for the purpose of instruction only, not for boarding or lodging of students.

'4. Instruction to the women students to be given exclusively by Professors and Instructors in the College, under independent arrangements with them,

which shall not interfere with their primary duties to the College.

'5. Any connection between the two institutions to be subject to the right of the College to terminate it, upon proper notice, if found not to work satisfactorily.'

CHAPTER XI

DURING the months that followed the sending of the Memorial to Columbia, while the Friends of the Higher Education of Women awaited the reply with what patience they could command, there were few idle moments for me. The signatures obtained and the Memorial completed, there was the interviewing of the Columbia Trustees which has already been referred to, the slow building up of the Board for the new college and a number of influential women to be asked to serve as Associate Members. It was necessary to proceed with great caution.

I sometimes think that the composition of Barnard's first Board of Trustees was an impressive argument for the existence of an all-wise and all-benevolent Heavenly Guidance in the affairs of earth. How else could a woman as young in years and experience as I was then, who knew nothing whatever of the ramifications of New York society, steer her way safely between the Charybdis of ultra-conservatism on the one hand, and on the other, the even more dangerous Scylla of radicalism or queerness, or whatever term was used in those days to express advanced vision and a spirit too independent to be harnessed. She did contrive to bring together a Board the personnel of which was approved by so highly conservative a

body as the Trustees of Columbia and yet the members of which must individually have possessed considerable liberality and independence, to identify themselves with so precarious and experimental an undertaking.*

The task was complicated by conflicting advice and bewildering variations of gossip: 'If you can only succeed in getting Mrs. Blank interested, you are

* College education for women slowly made its way against all manner of criticisms. Somewhere about 1890 (again I find myself careless in dating the clippings in my scrapbooks) I wrote a letter to the *Evening Post*: 'Higher Education in America is met by two criticisms; if for the man, will it not interfere with his prime business of life, the acquiring of a fortune, if for the woman, will it not interfere with her prime business of life, the acquiring of a husband?' I referred to an article appearing the day before in the *Times* which asserted that 'the one sad result of the Higher Education of American women is rendering women dissatisfied with the staple article known as the American husband of today.' It is a long letter. I end by making a plea to the men to seek wives more their equals in mentality and training. 'Thus, no one criticizes the unequal marriages of a Milton, a Rousseau, or a Goethe, but let Margaret Fuller marry an Ossoli and the whole world stands agape.' Quoting Dr. Johnson's dictum, 'A man is generally better pleased when there is a good dinner on the table than when his wife knows Greek,' I sum up: 'One of two results must follow — either man will grow to seek something higher than physical comfort from his spouse, or cultivated women will assume interests and cares outside the walls of home, as men do today, and will school themselves to look upon their better halves as articles conducive to their comfort instead of suns about which their souls must revolve... they, as well as men, will have to look to the outside influences to bring into their lives the necessary sweetness and light that is demanded by a satisfactory existence.'

made'; 'If you get that impossible Mrs. Blank or your Board, you will have endless troubles and lose many influential friends'; 'Ask Mr. Brown and your worries are over'; 'For Heaven's sake, avoid that awful Brown, he has more enemies than dollars you're sure to get the one while there is doubt about the other'; 'If Miss A comes on the Board, Miss B will decline. If you get Mrs. Y, then Mrs. W can also be secured.'

The first Board of Trustees of the projected college was to consist of twenty-four members. But before they could be chosen it was necessary to solve the absorbing problem: Should it consist of women only or should men also be invited to serve? And, if any men, how many? Several of the women with whom I had consulted, women who so far formed the nucleus of a Board of Trustees, strongly favored a Board made up entirely of women. Frances Fisher Wood, who possessed great weight as the then President of the Vassar Alumnae Association, and who had been for years the head of one of the most successful private schools in the Middle West, was keen for a Board of women. Columbia, she argued with perfect logic, had a Board consisting wholly of men; why, then, should not the affiliated college have a Board consisting wholly of women? There was no doubt that to have followed this policy would have won for the young institution the support and friendship of a certain type of extreme feminist.

But it was my belief then, and has always remained so, that the masculine viewpoint and method of attack have inestimable value, and are essential complements to the special contributions of women. In this I found others to agree. Another factor, and an important one, was that usually the men rather than the women held the purse-strings; as a general thing it was they who had the actual power to endow the young college. Then, too — in this period before the appearance of the woman executive in business — men, living in the world of finance, thought in larger, more generous figures. A subscription that loomed large on Fifth Avenue dwindled to small proportions on Wall Street.

For all these reasons, I preferred, when possible, other things being equal, to seek the co-operation of men.

CHAPTER XII

WITHOUT question the strongest argument for a mixed Board was that it was favored by Ella Weed.

Very soon after the appearance of my article in the *Nation* of January 28, 1888, I heard of the brilliant principal of the then fashionable Miss Annie Brown's School on upper Fifth Avenue. Several people coupled with their expressions of admiration the warning that Miss Weed was entirely too much taken up with her arduous duties at the school to consent to do anything in the work of establishing the new college. But, since all agreed that her advice would be invaluable, I lost no time in securing an interview. I was undaunted by the talk of the impossibility of engaging Miss Weed's services, because even by that time I had learned to expect the greatest assistance, the greatest punctuality, the greatest personal sacrifice and the least talk about it from the busy ones of this earth. It had not taken me very long to discover that, in doing any public work whatever, it was precisely those who were accomplishing least who made the loudest cry over their duties and responsibilities.

Therefore, it was only what I had expected when I found Ella Weed not only immediately interested, but willing to squeeze into her already overcrowded

days the work that was needed to be one of the tiny group who were organizing the College.

From the instant I laid eyes on her I was completely won. Miss Weed was in no sense a beautiful woman, yet hers was an extremely winning face, strong, full of power and delightful humor. Her heavy-lidded eyes looked sleepy, but missed nothing. She had an odd way of blowing out her cheeks and lips when amused. Her laugh was hearty and contagious.

Notwithstanding her limited time and the heavy responsibilities with which she was already burdened, it was not long before Ella Weed was heart and soul in the movement to give New York its first woman's college.

It is true that at the very beginning of our friendship, I was very cautious, despite my instantaneous admiration; for I had been warned not to get too much identified with anyone who was closely connected with a school for young ladies, especially a fashionable, private school in New York City. It was suggested that the proper collegiate atmosphere would be hard enough to achieve, and that it would be impossible if those in authority were too much imbued with the more restricted notions and conventions of the private school. This all seems absurd enough in reference to Ella Weed!

As, little by little, my confidence in Miss Weed's judgment grew as strong as my affection and admiration for her, I left entirely to her the decision of all questions that concerned scholarship.

Ella Weed it was who, as Chairman of the Academic Committee, and later as Acting Dean of the College, shaped its academic policy — with supreme wisdom. Ella Weed served actively as Trustee until 1894, the year of her death. She was a magnificent worker, steadfast, enthusiastic, courageous. Hers was the keenest mind I had until then ever encountered. It was a joy to work with her. We were at one in that the most tremendous difficulties failed to discourage us.

Only once in those trying early days was her faith shaken. She came to my home accompanied by Miss Annie Brown to say that, interested as she was, she simply could not go on with the tremendous work that it put upon her. Naturally of a sanguine disposition, nevertheless she knew far better than I, so much younger and less experienced, the frightful inertia of even the few who had the means and the power to support such a movement. Ella Weed knew that the battle could not possibly be won unless every fighter in it gave herself, or himself, unsparingly.

I was utterly unconscious of the dire object of this visit, and launched so enthusiastically into plans, with such certainty of success, that the words that Ella Weed had come to utter never crossed her lips. Instead, she entered wholeheartedly into my idea of launching a series of parlor meetings, readily consented to address them, and departed more than ever entangled. It was not until long afterward that I

heard how she had jokingly threatened Annie Brown with instant death should she ever dare tell 'that brave little woman' what had been the purpose of her call.

To be sure, Barnard College would have come into being even if Miss Weed had then resigned; but how greatly her academic standards might have suffered! No one can estimate how many years it might have taken to achieve for her the high position scholastically that Barnard assumed from the very start. And how grievously the students of those first years would have missed the inspiration of Ella Weed's stimulating, vivid personality!

A classmate at Vassar who was also a Trustee of Barnard wrote of her thus in the *College Annual*: 'In working with others she had the gift of never seeming to have prejudged the case, never seeming to bring to a discussion her own conclusion already formed. She could keep a question open in her mind until the right moment for a decision had arrived, and thus a discussion with her was always vital and animating. ... In Committee work she was quick to receive as well as ready to give. She lent her cheerfulness and gayety to the work in hand; she so thoroughly enjoyed reducing chaotic detail to order, that one might say she was really only to be truly known by working with her. In the selection of the corps of instructors her judgment and personal experience were of great service to the College and, having selected her assistants,

she knew how to lend them her cordial support and appreciation.'

The husband of this classmate, the distinguished critic, W. C. Brownell, wrote an obituary notice of Ella Weed in the *New York Evening Post*: 'The death of Ella Weed is a loss to the cause of woman's education which it would be difficult to overestimate. She made this cause her own. Her entire life was identified with it. In its service she was, it may be said accurately, an enthusiast without illusions. With a very unusual personal equipment she united a practical sense of what is possible and advisable which was wholly remarkable, wise and sane. She had convictions that were based on experience and was impatient of vague and exalted notions however fostering in their intentions to the cause she had at heart. This end she had so much at heart, indeed, that she had sacrificed to it all her literary ambitions, which, judged by her occasional literary performance, must have been keen and powerful. She was above everything a worker. She cared more to impress the young persons who came under her influence, than to advocate systems or air her general views.'

In the series of articles in the *Evening Post*, which has already been alluded to, Miss Weed's article was, in humor as well as in masterly analysis, far above the usual run of newspaper writing. 'The idea of education for women in New York,' she said, 'seems to be to study French and music forever and ever,

and to add other things if possible.' Beyond doubt much bitter experience lay behind the penning of this: 'The difficult thing for the teacher to understand is the unexpressed purpose in the parent's mind regarding the girl's future.... This vague sentiment was cruelly translated by the New York teacher who said that parents wanted their daughter educated to marry well, with a sort of accident-insurance attachment in case of disappointment.'

In the early eighties Miss Weed's novel *The Foolish Virgin* had been published in Harper's Franklin Square Library. It is fascinating to anyone interested in the history of the education of women to note on almost every page the sentiment of curiosity mingled with awe with which the woman Bachelor of Arts was regarded at that period. The heroine does her best — although we must admit without great success — to hide the fact of her mental superiority. She is reluctant to admit any knowledge of any serious books; she passionately longs to give the impression of being an average frivolous, clothes-loving young woman. She is frightfully sensitive and self-conscious, and appalled by the knowledge that she is supposed never to be swayed by her emotions, but to base her actions solely upon reason. There is something that goes deeper than irony in the author's commentary that 'poor Elinor Morgan had a liberal education on her hands.' For all that our heroine longed to be accepted as a normal, fun-

loving young woman, she did possess 'a deep sense of responsibility due her Alma Mater.' There we have in a sentence the conscientious, self-questioning, self-conscious woman graduate of the past century.

There are in the book other delightfully sly and witty commentaries on social customs. There is the shy awkwardness of social intercourse between a débutante and a young man; the mock dignity of the young matron delighting in her new social freedom, yet not beyond being pleased when the 'shop men address her as "Miss"'; the woman lecturer who was 'too wise a child of this world to let her principles interfere with her income'; the amateur theatricals where 'the costumes were becoming rather than accurate.'

And the author knew her home town when she speaks of one of her characters 'with even more than an ordinary New York ignorance of all beyond its sacred precincts.

CHAPTER XIII

I NO LONGER remember the precise order in which the members of the Board were invited to serve.

It seemed logical that the signers of the Memorial, chosen for the impression they would make upon the Columbia Trustees, should form the nucleus for the new Board. Although the actual signatures were secured by me, their selection had been made largely upon the advice of Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge, Mrs. Abby Longstreet (of whom more later), and Mrs. Frances Fisher Wood, who was the only one of the trio who consented to serve on the Board. A few names were suggested by Miss Weed, and Mrs. Joseph H. Choate obtained the signatures of two men whom she considered valuable.

In choosing the Board, I was, of course, often in conference with these same advisers, though, when opinions differed, I was forced to rely on my own judgment.

Of all the signers of the Memorial, as I have said, I was most profoundly impressed by Arthur Brooks — by his radiant personality, his optimism, his courage, and the sheer beauty of his spirit. I was, therefore, delighted to have Francis Lynde Stetson (himself an important suggestion of Miss Weed's) mention Dr. Brooks for a Trustee.

I was greatly moved and encouraged by Arthur

Brooks's acceptance of the invitation to serve the College. The Rector of a large and fashionable church in New York had quite enough to do without entangling himself in a movement which at best could be considered only as highly experimental, a movement, moreover, which, in order to succeed, would require great devotion and sacrifice on the part of those closely connected with it. I felt that I couldn't ask so distinguished a man to be a mere member of the Board, and — this time against the advice of Miss Weed and several others, who thought it a mistake to have a divine in so prominent a position — I went ahead and asked Arthur Brooks to be Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Before long this bit of insurgency won the wholehearted approval of everyone connected with the College.

When I called, Dr. Brooks listened carefully to what I had to say. When I had finished my plea, he bent towards me graciously. 'I need not tell you,' he began, 'that I am a very busy man.' My heart sank. 'I have many duties and great responsibilities. But' — and here he drew himself up to his full height of six feet or more — 'I will do this. It is important. I may have to give up something else; *but this must be done.*' How simple, how direct, how like the man!

What a lesson this should have been to all the little people who had been so busy trying to impress me with the importance of their position in the community! These months of intensive work gave me

an insight into the vanities, the smallnesses (and the bignesses, let me not forget that) of human nature which many years of less strenuous work could not have done.

It is quite possible that superficially, Arthur Brooks may have been regarded as cold and reserved. But to those who were close to him, to those who loved him — and I did just that — there was about him more than a little of the enthusiastic, irrepressible boy. Bubbling up within him during his relaxed moments was a delicious sense of fun. There was in him, too, the naïve frankness of a boy. He was utterly incapable of anything like indirection. He was a dreamer, but a practical dreamer. However his head might soar into the clouds, his feet never quite left the ground.

Only recently a niece of Dr. Brooks placed in my hands a huge batch of material relating to the College. There were dozens of letters and rough memoranda of his replies to them. There were many announcements — that the second number of the *Barnard Annual* is to be dedicated to him, that he has been unanimously elected an honorary member of the Class of '93 (Barnard's first class); notes of personal interviews with students with successful readjustments of personal problems.* He kept many

* In this connection a letter from Mrs. N. W. Liggett to the Chairman of the Board will be interesting. Mrs. Liggett was the chief executive officer of Barnard College from 1891 on. I am not sure what was her exact title at first, but later on she was our Bursar

letters of mine. One bears upon the choice of an Associate Member to serve on the Board of Trustees.

until her retirement in 1924. Mrs. Liggett was the successor of Miss E. O. Abbott who was the first executive officer. There was some talk of naming her Lady Principal, but finally it was decided to run the College merely with Miss Abbott, a graduate of Vassar, as was Mrs. Liggett, as Executive Secretary with the Chairman of the Academic Committee as Acting Dean. Of course all of the Trustees gave much more time at the College and attended to many things which later on, as Trustees of a successful college, they never dreamed of doing. For instance, I can remember myself taking the fees of the members of the first class.

The same spirit of unselfish devotion that was shown by the Trustees was shown also by all who worked for the College. Poor Miss Abbott was quite worn out, body and mind, when she departed. She was a sweet woman of great personal dignity, but apt when 'put upon' to show alarming signs of bursting into tears. Mrs. Liggett's fresh breeziness and splendid common sense endeared her to us all. Imagine her dissolving into tears! She was the embodiment of courage and cheer, and I say that even while remembering perfectly that she came to us in the early stages of her young widowhood.

Here follows the letter:

'*My dear Dr. Brooks*, I was sorry that I did not turn over to your care the case of the young lady who was with me in the office. She passed her examinations this fall, but has not yet entered. I had a long serious talk with her that day, and tried to persuade her that her usefulness as a woman and her ability to help others would be immeasurably increased by a college training. She was ready to admit the intellectual advantages, but the social side did not seem strong enough. Perhaps if you had spared a few moments of your time you could have persuaded her that to be an earnest helpful woman was a greater heritage than to be a charming girl.'

She adds, 'I know you will be pleased to learn that your talk with the students had considerable effect, and that the attendance at prayers in the morning has been very large.'

'She is in every way the right kind of Trustee,' I wrote. 'Her idea of work is mine and yours — real, hard, earnest work, giving full attention to whatever is on hand until it is done.' It is amazing to note what small matters were brought to him for adjustment. There could not have been a single detail in the running of the College of which he was not cognizant. Real estate agents besieged him to purchase certain advantageous properties, architects begged the privilege of showing their work to him, none-too-well-known lecturers suggested lecturing under the auspices of the College. A delicious scrap between two professors concerning a room to which each laid claim reveals the difficulties of adjusting the twenty-five-foot four-story brownstone house which was our first home to the growing academic needs of the College. To make an even approximately satisfactory schedule of lectures must have taken the stratagem of a Machiavelli plus the patience of a Job. There are many letters, of course, explaining why it was impossible to accede to his request for a donation, sprinkled with some pleasant letters announcing much-needed gifts.

There were numerous little scraps of paper upon which were hasty jottings concerning various addresses which he had in mind for the strengthening of Barnard's position. Many of these throw a fascinating glance at the *mores* of the day: 'For Education is one of the living things of the world.' 'Charity

is approved, but Education is doubted. What is Charity but getting one back into the stream?' 'Education is a great dignity — to be desired by all.' 'Thought does not become a young woman.' 'From Sheridan's *Rivals*, "All this is the natural consequence of teaching girls to read."'

At the parlor meetings that were arranged in the early days, the speakers were usually Arthur Brooks, Ella Weed, and myself. For larger meetings, which were usually held at Columbia College, we arranged to strengthen our drawing power by asking Joseph H. Choate, Bishop Potter, or Frederic R. Coudert. From the scribbled suggestions mentioned above, Dr. Brooks spoke. How we longed for permanent records of those eloquent, timely remarks. I was in charge of the publicity work, and I never quite gave up hope of finding someone who could take down for us his flashing, flowing words. I used to go to city editors and beg them for their best stenographers. When I engaged them, there was always the same scarcely concealed amusement at this fussy woman who evidently had had no dealings with a really expert stenographer. And on each occasion the same negative result. Whenever I could tear my eyes from the beautiful, impassioned face of the speaker, there would be the expert, agape, hands folded helplessly in his or her lap, the figure slumped in utter discouragement, or on the edge of the chair gawking in awe-struck amazement.

Perhaps the rapid speech of his brother, Phillips, was more widely commented on, but to me Arthur outdid the Bishop. The words issued from his lips at lightning speed. It was as if they had been dammed up, stored in some reservoir in his brain, finally to rush torrentially forth, the words tumbling over one another in their eagerness to find their mark. And yet the thought was always happily expressed and perfectly delivered. Now and then there would be the slightest suggestion of a pause as if the flow of speech were clogged by its very exuberance, but almost at once the stream dashed on again faster, it seemed to me, than ever. It was a beautiful, if somewhat awe-inspiring, phenomenon.

Dr. Brooks served as Chairman of the Board until his death in 1895. Two days after the obituary notice appeared in the *Evening Post*, there was a long letter signed A. N. M.:

'*Sir*, — It was somewhat of a shock to me not to see in the obituary of the Reverend Arthur Brooks any reference to his connection with Barnard College. For surely he was very near and dear to the College and the College was very near and dear to him.... How impossible it seems to give here any adequate idea of what he has been to us! [Here were listed all the Committees over which he presided or of which he was a member.] Besides this he was one of the regular College Chaplains who conducted daily services, and when one of the others was detained was

ever ready to take his place. It is impossible to count the time given in personal consultation; no matter how deeply engaged, the study door was always open for us to bring before him the problems and perplexities that beset us. Indeed, his relation to the College cannot be defined by his official title. Until the appointment of the Dean, he was more the President of the College than anyone else. He was very fond of joking upon his peculiar position, and the last reference he made to the "hitherto acephalous condition of the college" was the last time he appeared before us, when he gracefully yielded to the Dean the office of presiding over the closing exercises of the College.'

At its meeting the following October, the Board of Trustees passed the following Resolutions:

'By the death of the Reverend Arthur Brooks, D.D., the first Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Barnard College has lost the guidance and fostering care of one who was identified with its inception, and who worked tirelessly and with rare sagacity to give it high aims, sound methods and the atmosphere of a wholesome and inspiring life. To the difficult task of laying out the work of the College and securing effective organization in its formative period, Dr. Brooks brought a true academic spirit, a broad view of its opportunities, and a judgment at once comprehensive and prudent. His spiritual fervor and his generous culture were always allied with a just perception of the force of existing conditions; and in his

breadth of vision he never lost sight of the necessary limitations of the moment. He had the prophetic instinct in harmony with a rare practical sense.

'In his ability, his scholarship, his loyalty to the highest standards in the things of the mind, he nobly interpreted Barnard College to the community which it is striving to serve. Within the smaller circle of the College, his pure spirit was a constant stimulus. A wise counselor, a sympathetic adviser, a true and helpful friend, he enriched all relations with the glowing hope and force of his own nature. He has bequeathed to the College a noble tradition of Christian scholarship, and to his associates an example of disinterested service.

'In thus recording their sense of loss and sorrow, the Trustees of the College record also their gratitude for a leadership so far-sighted and sagacious and a companionship so rich in beautiful memories.'

CHAPTER XIV

NATURALLY, it was important to enlist the services of all who had been prominent in the preparation of that earlier gigantic Memorial of which the establishment of the Columbia Collegiate Course for Women had been the immediate result. The very first of these to be thought of was Mrs. Joseph H. Choate. When I was about to call upon her, I was warned by several well-meaning but mistaken friends not to do so; for, in the first place, they said, she was too busy to take on any new duties, and, second, she had completely exhausted herself in the organization of the just-opened Brearly School.* It was also hinted that she

* Before the establishment of Barnard College only a handful of schools in New York made any attempt to train girls for college.

In my address before the National Council of Women in 1891, I called attention to the influence of Barnard College upon the schools. 'Schools all over the city are beginning to open college classes and the gap between schools and colleges is slowly filling up. A general awakening is going on: Low standards that were formerly accepted are being now gradually renounced. In fact, there existed such a vagueness of opinion regarding the true scope of the College that students who could not possibly have gained admission to our freshman year applied for admission into our Graduate Department. Generally the more lamentably deficient the preparation, the more abstruse were the graduate studies called for.'

The head of a private school for young ladies, Miss Lila North, writing one of the series of articles in the *Evening Post* which I edited, says: 'It is evident that the private school for girls differs

had been greatly discouraged at the meager results of her efforts towards opening Columbia to women five years before. But Mrs. Choate not only consented at once to serve on the Board; she was willing to lend her name as its Vice-Chairman, a position which she most ably filled until physical disability caused her to withdraw from attendance. Shortly after that, her daughter Mabel was elected to the Board, and it was not long before she succeeded to the Vice-Chairmanship, which she holds today.

The Resolutions on the death of Mrs. Choate, passed at the Meeting of the Trustees of Barnard College, February 6, 1930, contain these words: 'Mrs. Choate was a very tower of strength to the young and struggling College. Her position in the community gave it prestige and created confidence in its usefulness and its stability. Her knowledge of the educational needs of New York, and her high

greatly from the same institution in the recent past.... Several noteworthy changes will be found.... New influence is at work affecting both aim and curriculum.... The secret of the change is readily perceived. It lies in the existence of the woman's college.... The stigma of superficiality so long borne by the New York schools can no longer justly be applied.'

An editorial in a New York paper (through my inexcusable carelessness in pasting in clippings in my scrapbook at the time, I am not sure which paper): 'The existence of Barnard College is working a revolution in the work of our girls' schools.... As a consequence the multitude of girls who don't enter the college at all are better, more broadly, and more thoroughly educated in the preparatory schools than ever before.'

standards of accomplishment and her energy in making friends for the College, as well as the personal generosity of herself and her husband, put Barnard College immeasurably in her debt.'

Another of the signers of both Memorials whom I invited to serve on the Board of Trustees was Judge Noah Davis. He was a kindly man, with real nobility of character.

The first Secretary of the Board was Hamilton W. Mabie, one of the editors of the *Christian Union*, later *The Outlook*, a writer of pleasant essays, a genial, lovable man. Another delightful writer serving for a short time on the first Board was the Reverend Henry van Dyke. I believe there was some serious illness in his family which prevented his giving much time to the duties of a Trustee, but his name upon the Board undoubtedly was very helpful, since he was universally beloved and respected. Two other Trustees were graduates of Vassar — Helen Dawes Brown, the author of several popular novels and teacher in a prominent school for girls, and Alice Williams who taught in the same school.

The first Treasurer of the College was Jacob H. Schiff. I was frightfully nervous about approaching him. Tales had reached me of his extreme arbitrariness. It was suggested that no one could hope to serve on a Board with him unless prepared to agree with him in every respect. Of course, this was but one more instance of the misunderstanding that great

executives are open to. Doubtless Mr. Schiff was impatient with all shades of inefficiency, and he must have had ample opportunity of registering his dissatisfaction in the numerous Boards on which he served. When, however, I met Mr. Schiff, I was charmed by his affability. From the very first in my intercourse with him, which naturally was frequent during the next few years, I never failed to penetrate beneath the somewhat forbidding exterior to a sweet gentleness and the humility of a truly religious man. His judgment was at all times sound, and even when now and then it seemed advisable to take action against his approval, nevertheless in the early days of struggle he proved a veritable Gibraltar of strength and fidelity.

There was not the slightest difficulty in persuading Mr. Schiff to serve as a member of the Board, and notwithstanding the fact that he considered it absolutely harum-scarum to open a college on an income of less than five thousand dollars a year, he consented to become first Treasurer and to bear the brunt of the anxiety and responsibility.

Mr. Schiff was not approached merely because of his great wealth. He had already shown his interest in education by serving as a Commissioner of the Board of Education. Also, for three years, he had been one of the Trustees of the organization which had been formed to push the establishment of Free Circulating Libraries. In *The Life and Letters of*

Jacob H. Schiff, strangely enough his biographer mentions his gifts to Columbia College before those to Barnard College, although they were made four or five years earlier. Possibly Dr. Adler felt that he made up for this by the statement that 'over a long period Barnard College seemed to be his most favored educational interest.' Unquestionably the fact that so substantial a banker had faith in the future of the College was of inestimable help in those early days during which I permitted myself to cry out, in a letter to Arthur Brooks, 'How difficult these first years are!'

Mr. Schiff made frequent suggestions as to methods of raising money, and of persons who would be likely to give to the movement. Moreover, he was most helpful in writing letters introducing me to them.

It is evident that, soon after the opening of the College, Mr. Schiff found attendance at the Executive Committee somewhat arduous, for there is a memorandum in the Minutes for the Meeting of November 18, 1889, to the effect that, 'The Secretary of the Executive Committee was requested to communicate with Mr. Schiff and urge him to remain a member of the Executive Committee, but in case Mr. Schiff insists upon withdrawing from the Executive Committee, that notice of an alteration of the by-laws be given, so that he may continue to hold the position of Treasurer without being a member of the Committee.' As I have found no trace of a change in the

by-laws at that period, it may be presumed that Mr. Schiff was either prevailed upon to remain on the Committee, or that he was in some way excused from attending its meetings.

Certainly he retained the Treasurership through all those arduous early years, until 1893. Not even the large gifts * which he later made to Barnard can outweigh in value his services to her as her first Treasurer.

* See Appendix E.

CHAPTER XV

THE successor of Mr. Schiff, who took the financial burdens upon his shoulders, and has been bearing them ever since, was George A. Plimpton. I first heard of Mr. Plimpton from Miss Weed, as a promising young business man in the publishing house of Ginn & Company where he is now President. I was advised that his signature would be valuable for the Memorial. But I was so impressed when I met him that I insisted he must be invited to sit on the Board. It is interesting to read a letter which I wrote to the Chairman of the Board after Mr. Schiff's resignation: 'I don't think that anyone on the Board now should be made Treasurer. I think some strong man should be made so and admitted into the Board for the purpose. I don't know whom to suggest — some business man, of course. I think Mr. Plimpton, being in business, may know of some able man. I think Mr. Brownell's advice would be admirable. I'm sorry I can't think of anyone,' I concluded.

Of course this did not in the least reflect upon George Plimpton. But Mr. Schiff was a power in Wall Street and a very rich man, and it was hoped to get another in his place who would be equally impressive to the general public. We all felt that here in the office of Treasurer was an opportunity of getting a man inter-

ested in the College who ordinarily wasn't particularly interested in Education. A letter from Mr. Plimpton to Dr. Brooks at this time — March 4, 1893 — expresses the hope that 'the Committee will feel that I am simply holding the position of Treasurer pro tem, and will gladly give it up when the right person is found.'

I don't know how long it took us to discover that we had in our temporary Treasurer the ideal man for whom — like the children in the fairy tale — we had been looking far away on the distant horizon while what we sought was in our very midst.

Mr. Plimpton is one of the great collectors of America. A collector in the grand manner who is cabled to by Quaritch when the earliest known Latin manuscript of Euclid falls into their hands. His collection of books on Mathematics is the greatest private collection in the world. He gave to Wellesley College the most complete Library of Italian Literature outside of Italy. Marion Crawford said of it, 'The gathering of such a collection means love, learning, and labor.'

From the walls of Mr. Plimpton's home the rarest contemporary portraits smile (or frown) down upon the visitor — Percy Bysshe Shelley, Samuel Johnson, Chaucer and Bacon and Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, and Sir Philip Sydney among them — no less.

I certainly had reason to believe that I knew George Plimpton. We had worked shoulder to shoulder for

so long, overcoming difficulties that would have disheartened less optimistic souls. Nevertheless, about ten years ago, after spending an afternoon and a night at his farm in Walpole near Boston, I find I wrote in the guest book — 'I have known George Plimpton for almost forty years. Yet a single night at the Farm reveals more of the Man than all those years.'

At the Farm he is the seigneurial overlord. His roots go back to the days of Indian occupation in 1742. He is as much a part of New England as the soil and the rocks. He is New England epitomized. Canny, physically strong, a spirit indomitable and of a patience unimaginably enduring. Genial, kind-hearted, yet discriminating. Capable of refusing appeals. Shrewd. Giving out lavishly with one hand, yet able to drive a hard bargain. Quiet to the point almost of somnolence. Make no mistake. Those drooping eyes see more than most. Low as his voice is, diffident as is his manner, don't be fooled. He is not to be switched from the position which he seems to hold so tentatively.

The Treasurer of Barnard has been so successful in getting gifts for the College that one of his friends ventured to express his wonder that he is ever permitted to reach the sanctuary of his own office on lower Fifth Avenue; for on the tread of the steps leading up to it is the warning in large letters: *No beggars allowed.*

CHAPTER XVI

FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON, a member of the law firm which Ex-President Cleveland was later to join, readily consented to serve on the Board. He was suggested by Miss Weed, who was among the first to recognize his unusual ability. Mr. Stetson was a valuable asset, not alone for his legal advice which, of course, was of the highest possible ranking, but also for his sound judgment on all matters. He was eminently a shrewd tactician. In manners, he was precise, accurate, a man of few words, but what he said quietly could be depended upon.

It was not so easy, however, to persuade another well-known lawyer, Frederic R. Coudert. I simply dug myself in his office and refused to leave until he had given his consent. I realized the strategic advantage of having Mr. Coudert on the Board. Not alone was he one of Columbia's most distinguished graduates — a member of the Class of 1850 — but at that time he was also President of the Alumni Association. His presence on Barnard's Board would at once down two rumors: one that Columbia men were not any too enthusiastic over the new affiliated college, the other that Columbia was entirely Episcopalian in its interest and sympathies and that, therefore, no one of any

other faith would be apt to give largely to it.* Mr. Coudert served faithfully until 1891, when he resigned from the Barnard Board, meanwhile having been elected Trustee of the University.†

Nor was it easy to gain the consent of Everett P. Wheeler, who was just then much in the public eye through his Presidency of the newly formed Reform Club. He was especially important in my judgment because he was conservative enough to impress the Trustees of Columbia and yet liberal enough to be sincerely interested in the education of women. Therefore, when Miss Weed told me that she had sat next to him at a dinner the night before and had learned from him that his health would not permit of a single new responsibility and that it was absolutely impossible for him to serve on the Board, I nevertheless determined to keep the appointment which I had with him for that very afternoon. I

* As a matter of fact, Columbia was doing its best even at that early date to refute the notion of its denominationalism. To be sure, Trinity Church had more than a century before bestowed much land upon King's College, and both the Rectors of Trinity and the Bishops of New York had been Trustees of the College; but men of many other sects were to be found on the Board.

† This was the first time that a Barnard Trustee became a Trustee of Columbia. It was natural that the most prominent alumnus of the College then living should be selected; but years later Columbia elected unto itself the then Chairman of Barnard, Abram S. Hewitt, who remained on both boards. A later Chairman, John Milburn, was also called to the Board of the University. Mr. Gano Dunn is also at present a member of both Boards.

ignored the fact that Mr. Wheeler had already mailed a letter to me canceling the interview, which was lying on my desk before I sallied out to keep my engagement. I never mentioned its receipt and permitted him to assume — polite and chivalrous gentleman that he was — that I had not received it.

After a talk lasting nearly an hour, I recall how graciously he asked if I would not like to meet his wife. I shall never forget how lovely Mrs. Wheeler (his first wife with a complexion of peaches and cream with the startling contrast of a mass of white hair) descended the stairs, protesting earnestly as she came nearer and nearer, 'I know very well why you sent for me, my dear Mrs. Meyer. — You sent for me in order to help you persuade my husband to become a Trustee, but I assure you I really can't. He is doing too much. He can't undertake another thing.'

Few moments in my life have been more zestful than that in which I was able to assure her that her co-operation would not be sought, since her husband had already consented to serve on the Board. Of course, the satisfaction was somewhat tempered by my sense of guilt. Mr. Wheeler remained a Trustee until 1902. He resigned only after the College was well on its feet.

I have already spoken of Frances Fisher Wood. Although her advice on having a Board of Trustees entirely of women was not taken, nevertheless her educational experience was of great practical help.

Through Mrs. Wood, Mrs. James Talcott — a patient of Mrs. Wood's husband — became a Trustee and gave one thousand dollars, which was just double the largest gift which had yet been made.*

It was decided to use the Talcott money in fitting up the building † for the uses of the College. I may add that it was expended with rare wisdom and economy by the first Chairman of the Building Committee, Mrs. Francis B. Arnold.

Mrs. Talcott's interest in the students — she remained on the Board until her death in 1921 — was more in their souls than in their minds. A strict Presbyterian herself, she respected differences of religious opinion and asked only that one possessed faith of some kind and an earnest desire for spiritual growth. The James Talcott Chair for religious instruction was established in 1915.

Mrs. Arnold's task was one that took the greatest possible devotion and self-sacrifice of a nature that usually lies too far below the surface to receive the recognition that is its due. When in 1900 she resigned from the Board to be free to devote herself to other interests, the then Clerk of the Board wrote her a letter in which he reported that the entire Board begged her to withdraw her resignation. He added on his own account: 'I am told your services in the foundation of the institution were of inestimable value, and the Trustees who served with you before I became

* See page 137. † See pages 149 *seq.*

a member of the Board are most enthusiastic in bearing witness to the intelligence, fidelity and devotion which you had given to the work at the time when success was doubtful, if not apparently impossible. They seem to think that much of the present prosperity of the College was due to your patient labor and they trust that they will have the benefit of your advice and co-operation for many years to come.'

Silas B. Brownell, who was suggested by Mr. Stetson, served Barnard College with rare devotion and fidelity until his death in 1915. He was made Acting Chairman on the death of Dr. Brooks; and, after the death of Abram S. Hewitt, who was Chairman of the Board from 1897 to 1903, Mr. Brownell was elected in his place.

Mrs. W. C. Brownell, Ella Weed's classmate at Vassar, wife of the art critic, had little to say at the meetings of the Board; but what she did say was always the expression of a fine, well-trained mind. Her contribution was one of idealism, of critical acumen, of high educational standards.

Mrs. J. S. T. Stranahan had taught school before her marriage to Brooklyn's 'First Citizen,' a man who had the rare privilege of looking upon his own statue erected in his home town during his life. She was devotedly interested in Barnard and served on the Finance Committee, which was undoubtedly the hardest-worked Committee of them all, at least the one undertaking the least agreeable work.

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, the mother of the man who might justifiably be named New York's first citizen, extremely kindly, gentle soul, was on our first Board of Trustees, although she did not serve many years and retired some time before her death. In the early days I recall her advice as full of common sense and sound judgment. The other member of the Board was George Hoadley, who also did not serve for long. He was once Governor of Ohio and at the time was a member of the firm of lawyers, Lauterbach, Hoadley and Johnson.

As will be seen by consulting Appendix H, these are the only names that appear on the Provisional Charter granted Barnard College August 8, 1889.

CHAPTER XVII

I USED to call the Associate Members of the College 'the tail that flew the kite.' The Trustees had been chosen for their position in the community, but rather as persons of weight than of fashion. Something more was needed to make the Higher Education of Women really popular, and that was the approval of Society leaders. None of us dared to hope that it could be made fashionable for a girl to give up the four years in which she was most attractive to affairs of the intellect. Our ambition never soared beyond winning the approval of Society women for the education of such young ladies who unfortunately were obliged to earn their own living. The current attitude of Society towards the woman college student was reflected in a conversation which was held a few years after this. Just before the beginning of the present century, Mrs. Astor, who was the acknowledged leader of that Society, met her friend Mrs. Duer at a ball and remarked upon the absence of Mrs. Duer's daughter Alice. 'I haven't seen her at any of the dances all winter.' On receiving the explanation that Alice was attending Barnard College, Mrs. Astor commented with sympathy in her voice, '*What! that sweet young thing!*'

A couple of years before that another important social leader was pitied because it was her daughter

and not her son who possessed keen intellectual interests and was a particularly brilliant member of Barnard's class of 1896. There was no question about it — it was regarded as a distinct misfortune to have a daughter who was 'bookish,' or who, instead of hankering after the flesh pots of Egypt, actually preferred the scholarly attainments of a college career. In the last decade of the nineteenth century a Professor of the University of Mississippi — a coeducational institution — wrote the author of the Chapter on 'Education in the South' in my book *Woman's Work in America*, 'Women are admitted here.... Not many women avail themselves of the opportunity,... but their social standing is in no way impaired by their coming here.'

In the Editor's Preface to *Woman's Work in America* I wrote: 'We may acknowledge that the day is past when it is necessary seriously to plead the capacity of women to accomplish certain things; that victory has been won with tears of blood;-*but the fight still centers about the propriety of it.*'

So every effort was made to make the name of Barnard at least as familiar in New York Society as that of Vassar or Bryn Mawr. While social leaders were needed as Associate Members, it was most important that this list should not be confused with the list of our financial backers. It was decided to invite certain well-known, more or less impecunious, literary women as well. At all costs, it must never be sus-

pected that a mere subscription to the College was enough to assure a place among the Associate Members. If that idea once got abroad, there would be an end to any real social prestige. And it was equally important to see that no generous woman who was outstanding only in the size of her pocketbook could be offended and bestow her favors elsewhere.*

* Along this line of innovation, there was started a few years later, in 1894, a Barnard Club to be made up of both men and women, which would incidentally be of financial assistance as well, through turning over its initiation fees and dues to the struggling College. It was thought very truly that many new persons could be won over in this indirect way as friends of the College.

At the beginning, the meetings of the Club were held only Saturday afternoons, in the parlors of the Spence School for Young Ladies, which were generously placed at the disposal of the Club by Miss Spence, who at that time was an Associate Member and had not yet been elected to the Board.

Among the incorporators of the Barnard Club were four Trustees of the College and three Associate Members. The Board of Management had authority 'from time to time to apply out of the funds of the Club such funds of money for the benefit of Barnard College as it may deem advisable.' The first year, some five hundred dollars were handed to the Treasurer of the College. There were years when the grand total thus applied amounted to nine hundred dollars. The money was sorely needed; but probably the greatest service rendered by the Club was social prestige.

It has been many years since the Club has been of any financial benefit to the College, nevertheless Barnard can never forget its debt. It must continue to overlook the clear disadvantage in the existence of a Club which would seem to outsiders to be a Club of Alumnae. It was necessary, a few years ago, when a real Alumnae Club was started, to call it the Barnard College Club, hoping to mitigate somewhat the confusion.

It is difficult today to realize how long it took New York Society to grasp the fact that Barnard College was a New York institution. One day Mrs. Roger Pryor, wife of the eminent jurist, and herself the leader of Southern women living in New York, told me that she had just given a talk about Barnard College to a roomful of women at the Fifth Avenue home of the New York Head of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and was sure that, with so many wealthy women in her audience, sorely needed money would flow into the coffers of the College. A couple of days later I spoke to her hostess about Mrs. Pryor's talk. 'Ah, yes!' she said. 'It was so interesting. I wish I could do something, but you see there's so much to do right here in New York; I can't give to anything so far away!'

Everything that could be done to render college education respectable was worth while at that stage. The importance could not be overestimated of showing that 'nice' women, women who dressed well, women who attended to their homes and their children were interested,* or at least not antagonistic.

It was logical that Mrs. Botta should be approached as one of the first of the Associate Members, for she

* Sidney Smith, the celebrated wit, a doughty champion of woman's education, protested in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, of which he was the founder: 'Just as though the care and solicitude which a mother feels for her children, depended on her ignorance of Greek and Mathematics, and that she would desert her infant for a quadratic equation!'

had been among the first to have 'advanced views' concerning the proper sphere of woman. To her keen mind the word enfranchisement meant much more than the right to cast a ballot. It connoted woman's complete mental and spiritual freedom.

Anne C. Lynch Botta, a poet whose verse received high praise from Edgar Allan Poe, was a rarely delightful, high-spirited woman, whose English-basement house at 25 West Thirty-Seventh Street was at one time New York's nearest approach to a salon. Her crowded Saturday nights brought together the most famous people of the day. Parke Godwin, the poet Bryant's son-in-law, wrote, 'There was hardly a person eminent in our history, or a foreign visitor of celebrity whom her hospitality had failed to honor.' To her celebrated hospitality Emerson had paid noble tribute and Helen Hunt Jackson (H. H.) wrote a sonnet beginning:

'Thy house hath gracious freedom, like the air of open fields.'

Far in advance of public opinion in her day, Mrs. Botta in 1875 had offered the French Academy a fund to establish prizes for the best essays to be submitted from any part of the world, on the theme: 'Woman: in what way can her domestic, political, and social relations be modified, in the interests of a higher civilization?'

Although when I called upon Mrs. Botta and persuaded her to lend her influence to the support of the young College, there was more than a half-

century between our ages, I was unconscious of the slightest mental or spiritual gap to be spanned. No one could have been more youthfully enthusiastic over the possibilities of the higher education of women, or have had a keener vision of its liberating power than the wrinkled old lady before me, with the old-fashioned curls hanging down on either side of the delicately chiseled face.

The widow of Dr. Barnard sent for me immediately after we named the College * for her husband,

* 'As I watch the progress of educational thought in America and see its multitudinous manifestations... in matters relative to education of men and the opportunities for women,... when I reflect upon his own prophecies and insight, exhortations and projects, he seems to me more than ever to have been one of the greatest educational prophets of our time.... It is not usual for a college to bear the name of a great leader in the intellectual life.... But it is worth more in a college to bear a name which has taken its place and will always hold its place in the history of the higher education of our American democracy.... The college which bears his name is not the sort of institution which he had argued for and defended.... He was committed to coeducation pure and simple, but I like to think that if he could see what is going on under his name and aegis, he would say that it has improved upon the idea which was his; that here we have coeducation in a real and proper sense of the word, in that men and women are educated in the same surroundings, sharing the same intellectual opportunity.' (President Nicholas Murray Butler, in an address at Barnard College, February 12, 1910.)

The present Dean of Barnard College also referred in her radio speech, October 20, 1934, to the fact that 'it is not usual for a college to bear the name of a great leader of the intellectual life'; and adds, 'so Barnard is fortunate.'

The writer of this book is happy, therefore, to remember that the name, 'Barnard College,' was chosen at her suggestion.

and said: 'You know I was going to fight the establishment of an "Annex." I feel that my husband never would have approved of it. He was for opening to the full limit every asset of Columbia College, freely and unequivocally to women, and upon the same terms as for the men. I was not satisfied with anything less than that. But now that you have done my husband the honor of naming the College for him, you have taken the wind from my sails. I cannot very well fight a College which bears his name.' I was delighted, for any opposition from the widow of the great educator would have been sure to be misunderstood. On February 14, 1891, the first gift to Barnard's Library was her donation of Johnson's Encyclopaedia. On this occasion she also presented the College with a portrait of Dr. Barnard.

Mrs. Asa B. Stone, the mother-in-law of John Hay, who had come from Cleveland to live in New York, was among the first to become an Associate Member. President of a small, highly exclusive literary club, she was a woman of outstanding mentality and social influence. It was in certain circles looked upon as more of an achievement to belong to the Wednesday Afternoon Club than to the magic circle of 'the Four Hundred.' Amy Townsend was a tower of strength for the simple reason that she was supposed to join nothing the success of which was in doubt. Mrs. E. L. Godkin, wife of the editor of the *Evening Post*, was on the list as well as Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, who was looked

upon with awe by most women because it was current report that she had continued with her professional duties right up to the date of her child's birth.

Mrs. Augustus D. Shepard, besides her own exquisite grace and charm, brought the aura of the world of Art and Letters through her brother the great architect Meade, and her brother-in-law William Dean Howells, as well as the influence of 'The Vanderbilts' through her husband's brother Eliot F. Shepard. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer stood out from all the others inasmuch as she was one of those rare beings who conferred distinction both as a member of an old, aristocratic family and a distinguished author. Mrs. George Canfield, although deeply devoted to the interests of the higher education of women, refused to become a Trustee, being an admirer of Harvard and not of Columbia. But she was willing to become an Associate Member and later, when 'the Annex' became Radcliffe College and conferred its own degree, she declared herself as disgusted with their short-sightedness and threw herself wholeheartedly into the work of helping Barnard. She was an informed and immensely helpful member of the Board until her death not long after.

There was the fine poet Helen Gray Cone, teaching English Literature at 'Normal College,' dedicated with rare devotion to the awakening of young women to the joy of appreciating the beauties of great writing. There was Jeannette Gilder, sister of the poet-

editor of the *Century*, herself co-editor with another brother of that sprightly literary review of the period *The Critic*, in whose pages a few years before had appeared the first article I had ever written for pay. I like to remember Miss Gilder as she appeared at a tea which I gave one afternoon in honor of that witty Englishwoman who used the pen name of John Oliver Hobbes. Coming straight from her office, Miss Gilder wore her customary mannish garb, stiff shirt, collar and cravat, with plain black, severely tailored coat and skirt. But she had made an evident concession to the occasion, having donned a recalcitrant pair of huge white gloves which were much too large even for her large hands, and with which she struggled during her entire stay.

I don't find the name of Lucia Runkle on our first list of Associates, but it was not long before she was included. A letter from Mrs. Low of December, 1892, refers to her as such. From the very first, Mrs. Runkle had helped with our publicity. She was a journalist of unusual ability and social prestige. No one seemed to know precisely where or what she wrote. It was rumored that she was on the editorial staff of an influential weekly. She was also credited with being the power behind the throne in a great publishing house. I do know that a subtle glory clung to the hostess who succeeded in securing her at an affair, for she was always sending passionate and hurried little letters to hostesses declaring that she so longed to be

present, but the remorseless 'powers-that-be' demanded this or that. I knew her to be the author of an unsigned article appearing in *Harper's Weekly* for December 6, 1890.

'On the one side,' says this article, 'was Columbia with its degrees and no opportunities, and on the other was the Harvard Annex with its opportunities and no degree, and while the societies for the advancement of collegiate instruction for women were taking counsel as to how the great doors of the New York institution should be opened wide enough for girls to enter, one practical, energetic, and indomitable woman, quick to seize the forelock of occasion, proposed that the opportunity should be added to the degree.... This young woman was Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, a former student for a Columbia degree, who had felt in her own person the discouragements of the existing methods.

'The "one-man power" in politics may work disaster, but the one-woman power in education, as exemplified by Mrs. Meyer, so far, only benefits. In March, 1888,* she entered, virtually alone, on the impossible task of creating a public sentiment to sustain a woman's college which should offer to the girls of New York and its vicinity an education at least as thorough as the Harvard Annex insures.'

No one at that time, starting any liberal movement

* This of course should be January instead of March. Mrs. Runkle also made the mistake of thinking I had worked for a degree.

in New York, would think of proceeding without calling on Fanny Garrison Villard, the lovely and gracious daughter of the great Abolitionist. Having secured a letter of introduction to her, I kept the appointment which she promptly made. At the entrance to her noble drawing-room, I slipped on a rug, slid several feet on the highly polished floor, struggling to keep my balance, and finally fell ignominiously. Only her cordial welcome could have relieved my acute embarrassment. Later on, seeing the humor of the situation only and forgetting the discomfort, I declared that on first meeting Mrs. Villard I had landed at her feet, where I had remained ever since.

On the occasion of her eightieth birthday, a poet arose and acclaimed her as a 'True daughter of a dauntless sire.' John Haynes Holmes spoke of her as 'embodying the power of courage clothed in the beauty of gentleness.' The loveliest tribute of all — surely in her mind — would have been what her son Oswald wrote upon her death in 1928: 'She never thought of compromise; to consider shifting her ground or moderating her language for expediency's sake was as impossible for her as for her father. And yet,' he added, 'to few is it given in great age to have an open mind, much less the readiness to accept modern ideas and novel policies.... Greatest of all is the fact that her faith and ideals never faltered; not even the greatest of human catastrophes could cast down her spirit, or dim the lustre of its radiant light.'

Mrs. Abby B. Longstreet has been left to the last of those Associate Members who stand out in one way or another. But she was anything but least.* She shared with her intimate friend Lucia C. Runkle in the magic potency of the press. It was generally conceded that no new movement in New York could hope to succeed if it was so unfortunate as to gain her ill-will. She was an influential member of the Wednesday Afternoon Club, the club which set its stamp of approval — or, alas, disapproval — so unflinchingly, and among her intimates was always referred to as 'The General.' She unquestionably proved her generalship in planning the campaign for the young College. She knew just the right persons who would impress the Columbia Trustees; solid, conservative, dependable persons. And, perhaps a shade more important, she knew who were just the wrong ones.

Mrs. Longstreet spoke in a low, sibilant whisper which gave a slightly mysterious quality to her simplest statement. At the period at which I knew her, she was always garbed in black with a touch of white at the throat, and there was always the delicate rustle of silk as she moved.

Hers was a biting tongue. No one relished the possibility of becoming the target for her mordant wit. Therefore, she was always surrounded by an atmosphere of adulation, not untinged with fear. She was certainly exceedingly difficult to please. This was

* For complete list see Appendix F.

never set down by others to any lack of patience on her part, any hastiness of judgment or temper, but to the possession of a peculiarly high standard of behavior and accomplishment. It is remarkable what a reputation for discernment one may acquire through merely withholding praise. I know I lived in constant terror of doing or saying something that would cause her to change the high opinion of me which she evidently held. I had a panicky kind of feeling that the College simply could not come into being should Mrs. Longstreet suddenly turn against it.

This may sound somewhat ridiculous to those who never came under the sway of her wonderful personality. But there is no question but that it was all very real at the time. Some subtle, indefinable influence certainly emanated from this tall, ungainly woman whose face was in some strange way scarred or blurred. I was never certain because those quizzical, searching eyes, lightning-quick, had a way of penetrating to the core of one's being and disconcerting one before it was possible to study her face long enough to make sure.

Don't misunderstand. Abby Longstreet was not a mere 'knocker.' She would not have so much space here if she had been merely that. She might be a nettle to friend and enemy alike. But she never ceased to be a stimulus. And her appreciation — when she gave it — was a generous appreciation, her applause an applause without reservation. There

must have been — looking back on it all, it seems to me — something in the young bride who came to her for advice about starting a college, that appealed strongly to the indomitable old woman. Perhaps it was her obvious ignorance of the world. Perhaps it was her sheer intrepidity. Whatever it was, it was certain, during an intimacy that lasted many years, that no word in criticism or rebuke of me ever fell from those thin, twisted lips. Possibly I was sacrosanct because in a very real sense I was her protégée. Mrs. Longstreet had dared publicly to predict my success where others had predicted dire failure. Many of her intimates — women who had known her many years before I had approached her — expressed their astonishment that she had never been heard to utter one word about me that was not clothed in the language of admiration and affection. At the time of her death, one of her closest friends assured me to my surprise that I probably was the only woman of whom this could be said.

CHAPTER XVIII

BECAUSE of the unfortunate delay in reporting the action taken by the Columbia Trustees in response to the Memorial of 1888, there was nothing to do in the autumn of that year except to continue with the task of raising funds. But the fact that no answer of any kind had been vouchsafed, had a dampening effect upon every one of us. And it was also frightfully discouraging to the half-dozen young women * who were waiting to enter as students. Youth is proverbially impatient. It was not an easy time for them. All were New Yorkers with the exception of one Brooklynite, and for one reason or another it was impossible for them to attend an out-of-town college. They fairly dogged my footsteps. If the expression had been used at that time, I suppose I would have said they parked themselves on my doorstep. As the summer of 1888 approached, it was evident that the College could not be opened until a year from the next autumn. It would be impossible — even if we heard from the Columbia Trustees and favorably — to get the organization perfected in time to open in the autumn of 1888.

* One more joined them later whose family had moved to New York from Massachusetts.

I suppose it would be easier to awaken sympathy for the sufferings of a group that was physically hungry. But these young women were heart-hungry, brain-famished. Their bodies were fed three times a day, but their minds were empty. Their entire being out of tune, they didn't seem to fit into any groove. They were ambitious, eager to work, anxious to prove their fitness, passionately longing to exercise their mental faculties as others might long to exercise their muscles. There they were with the fata morgana of a career flitting before their eyes, determinedly standing their ground, fighting off alike the skepticism and the criticism of the rest of the world. A dreary time it was for them. No wonder they could only gaze at me earnestly and from time to time wail, 'Oh, Mrs. Meyer, do you really think we'll ever have a college, a real college right here in New York?'

For all the fact that I was always provided with letters of introduction, I was often made to feel as if I were begging for myself. I went about from house to house, giving as much time as I could spare from the bedside of my father who was never to rise from it again. It didn't take long to discover that it was far easier to obtain a signature at the bottom of a Memorial than at the bottom of a check. At this trying time two noble persons stand out in my memory — Mrs. James J. Goodwin, whose subscription came to me actually unsolicited through the mails, and Thomas Bracher, the only one who called upon

me in person to offer his unsolicited subscription. His wife accompanied him. Both were deeply interested in college education for women. Their daughters had been eager to attend college, and would have done so had one been started in New York a little earlier. I came across the other day a letter written me by Mrs. Goodwin. It is dated December 4, 1890. 'I am very glad,' she writes, 'to hear that such a good start has been made towards the endowment — but what an amount of patience and perseverance it will take! However, I have one piece of good news. I wrote to Mr. Pierpont Morgan [a cousin of hers] and he was good enough to say that, though approached by others, he was not much impressed until he got my note, and he will subscribe $5000. I am a little proud of my success,' she adds, 'because it is absolutely my first attempt at begging and I fear will be my last.'

I remember very well the discouraging day when this cheering bit of news arrived. To have a gift like this from Mr. Morgan meant much more than the mere money. It meant the approval and endorsement of a mighty social and financial power. I wish it were possible to express some word of appreciation for each one of the good people who gave money to Barnard during those early days of struggle. It seems as if they should bear some special kind of halo. I have already spoken of our greatest benefactor Mrs. Anderson. And there was the splendid gift of Miss Emily O. Gibbes of Newport, who sent for me during one of

her visits to New York because she liked my books *Woman's Work in America* and *Helen Brent, M.D.* Of course I interested her in the College, and she visited it several times with me and made generous gifts for one thing or another, and at last came the great day when she announced confidentially that she had willed her entire fortune to the College. She was an intense feminist, the man-hater type. I always claimed that it was fortunate for the College that when my child was born a few years later, it had been a girl and not a boy!

I steadily refused to beg in couples or groups. If I were to be humiliated, I preferred to be alone. Wasn't I delighted that no one accompanied me to interview a certain rich merchant during one of the emergencies when Mr. Plimpton and I literally scoured the streets to meet the conditions imposed by the first of the gifts from Mr. Rockefeller! I shrank from his bold gaze, his prominent eyes had a most unpleasant stare. In the course of our talk he frequently put his hand on my knee. His discreet secretary in the background didn't seem to mind, and I bit my lip and tried to appear nonchalant. I think I got five hundred dollars, and I know I fled. Indignantly I announced to Mr. Plimpton that I was through with begging from men. I'd go and see women hereafter, but no more men. Mr. Plimpton was enormously amused. Imagine my embarrassment when he drawled: 'Well, Mrs. Meyer, I always knew you were a charming woman,

but I never imagined you would charm a blind man!'

Then there was the rich editor who had the reputation of being exceedingly 'close.' As I was taking my departure, he admitted that he had consented to see me determined not to give a cent, and that since I had hypnotized him into subscribing a hundred dollars a year, he felt very sure that Barnard College would some day be the richest college in the world. 'If you could get money out of me,' he remarked laughingly, 'you can get it out of anyone!' This, while encouraging, led to embarrassment later when a prominent Society leader decided to get up a Benefit for us. She went ahead without getting into touch with us, for she claimed afterwards she was afraid to meet me, as I hypnotized people into giving. As it happened, the Executive Committee had decided not to venture any Benefit at the time, but this woman proceeded wholly without authorization and, although hearing of her attempt at the last moment, and in order to stave off a total failure, I managed to sell tickets and boxes among the Board, the net result was a deficit of fifty dollars which the lady had the coolness to ask us to pay! I am glad to add that we refused this last demand. And the maddening thing about the affair was that there had been no lack of interest in the College, but the lady was wildly extravagant and careless in her arrangements. We came into it all too late to review her contracts. All that

we could do was — I remember — to remove from the program the startling innovation of a woman who whistled! She had to be paid — but our dignity was saved!

Of course what made begging for a woman's college in those days peculiarly difficult was the fact that it took a person of liberal views to be interested at all. And people who are deeply interested in a liberal cause, who would actually make sacrifices for it, are usually not rich. The possession of wealth makes for conservatism, for keeping things as they are. Why not? Those who suffer most from present conditions are obviously the ones to be filled with a burning desire for change. It is only the finest souls of the earth who dedicate themselves to an Ideal even if they have more to lose by it than to gain. One cannot expect to meet many such in the course of a lifetime.

How often have people said to me — a smug complacency beneath the self-deprecatory surface — 'Ask me to do anything — anything but beg. I'm no good at that sort of thing. It simply isn't in me!' I used to wonder if these same people would have admitted quite so jauntily that they possessed no skill in organizing their ideas, no clear notion of their aims, no knowledge of human nature, and above all no personal charm and no magnetism! Had any of these delicately fashioned creatures who thus proclaimed their inefficiency truly understood the gentle art of

begging, I would have been spared at least their poorly veiled sense of superiority.

A successful beggar must possess many conflicting qualities. She must possess a shrewd knowledge of human nature. And yet not too shrewd. It must be a shrewdness tempered and warmed by a magnificent confidence, a glorious awareness of the heights to which human nature may rise, as well as the depths to which it may fall. Obviously the slightest tinge of cynicism plays havoc with the faith which is to move mountains. Particularly exasperating to me were those who, as they protested their inability to beg for a cause, assumed that the successful beggar goes her way filled with a serene and undisturbed joy. Evidently they conceived her as making her jaunty way to the door of the prospective victim entirely without misgivings and pressing a firm and potent finger upon the bell. The truth was, of course, that never did I press the bell with a finger that didn't tremble. Never did I stand upon the top step before a millionaire's mansion without a fervent prayer that the object of my call would prove to be 'Not at home.' And this, notwithstanding all the time and energy that had been expended in securing a letter of introduction and in going over 'leads,' learning the religious affiliations, political beliefs and pet prejudices involved — in other words, seeking to avoid the pitfalls that threaten the solicitor who comes unprepared. 'An exhilarating avocation' Bishop Lawrence

called the raising of money. Nevertheless, in his *Memories of a Happy Life* he described the agonies he endured. 'Every morning I had to lash myself to go down town.... I heard with sighs of relief that one and another could not see me.'

CHAPTER XIX

THERE lies in the archives of Barnard College a small calfskin-bound book which appears on the surface to be merely a lot of names and addresses with figures attached to them,* but which is really a poignant history of a heart-breaking struggle. How many memories it awakens when I read the names there carefully listed!

In a girlish hand, the title is penned:

Subscription List for
The Fund for Establishing
A Columbia Annex for Women

Annie Nathan Meyer,
749 Madison Avenue, New York.

The first item in the book is 'Dr. Alfred Meyer — $500.' There is a notation under it, however, which reads, 'See Annual Subscriptions. Changed by request of Finance Committee.'

It was the Treasurer, Mr. Schiff, who suggested that it would be the part of wisdom not to ask for any large subscriptions, but for smaller sums to be

* See Appendix G.

pledged annually for four years. Mr. Schiff not only thought it would be less difficult to get the smaller sum, but he considered it discreet to regard the enterprise, modestly, as tentative only. He advised that there should be no attempt on the part of Barnard's friends to establish permanency until the experiment should be proved a success. The sum it was finally decided to ask for was one hundred dollars. As the very first gift had been five hundred dollars, the donor willingly changed it to one hundred dollars annually for five years.

This *modus vivendi* was not suggested by any lack of faith on the part of the Treasurer, nor the slightest lack of appreciation of the need for the College. Mr. Schiff thought the public would be more ready to subscribe the large sums that would be needed if, at the end of the experimental period, a class had been graduated, and the Trustees of the College could make their appeal on the merits of good work actually accomplished.

It is usually said that Barnard was started on five thousand dollars a year pledged for four years. But the truth is that the amount was far less than that.*

* Even so late as October 20, 1935, Miss Gildersleeve, our present Dean, speaking on the air, said: 'As for finances — no institution was ever founded more purely on faith. Fifty persons undertook to contribute $100 each annually for four years.' Virginia Cocheron Gildersleeve, a graduate of the Class of 1899, was installed as Dean of the College in 1911, having taught for some years in the English Department. Barnard is very proud of having one of her very own

Thirty-six pledges of one hundred dollars each for four years were received. Of these, three were from Trustees, two from husbands of Trustees, two more from women who shortly after became Trustees. Three were from Trustees of Columbia and two from wives of Columbia Trustees. Almost all the other donors were my personal friends or patients of my husband. Besides these thirty-six pledges, a good many gave sums varying from one thousand dollars to twenty-five dollars, without pledging themselves for the future. Only a couple of the small contributions were for four years. Of the forty-eight who gave only once, some were Associate Members, a very few became interested through other Barnard Trustees, twenty-two were my personal friends, and the rest I secured by personal calls aided by letters of introduction.

Thus Barnard College, at the beginning, could depend only on thirty-seven hundred and fifty dol-

graduates for her chief executive, who, although nominally Dean, is really more like the President of a college — such a one for instance as is not affiliated with a parent university. Dean Gildersleeve is a member of the University Council precisely as are the Dean of Teachers College, and the Deans of the various schools at Columbia, professional as well as undergraduate. With all the advantages of true scholarship, she is far from exemplifying the old-fashioned ideal of cloistered aloofness from the stream of life. An exceptionally able presiding officer, a witty and inspiring speaker, profoundly interested in current problems, especially as they concern women, her admirable balance, and her clear-sighted and delightful frankness are greatly and gratefully cherished.

lars pledged annually for four years, another fifty dollars pledged for two years, and it possessed in outright gifts five thousand and fifty dollars, some of which, of course, had to be spent in equipment and furnishings. It was estimated that about two thousand dollars would come in from tuition fees.*

Small wonder that there was trepidation among the four who formed the Ways and Means Committee and met in the late spring of 1889 at Mr. Plimpton's office at 743 Broadway to decide whether or not to open the College in the fall. Small wonder that Mr. Schiff advised against it. He considered that the response of the people had not been generous enough to warrant it. In his eyes another year spent in raising funds was imperative. But those who were less versed in finance were braver. It was a good deal the case of the old adage concerning fools and angels.

In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* a few years ago, Dean Briggs of Harvard delightfully wrote of the early struggles of the Harvard Annex as 'an experiment in faith.' He refers to its financial resources as 'glaringly insignificant,' and speaks of 'living chiefly on faith with a few tuition fees thrown in.' Surely it was so with Barnard!

Speaking of our struggles, S. B. Brownell, in the

* 'Probably no institution was ever founded more purely on faith.' (William Tenney Brewster, *Columbia University Quarterly*, March, 1909.)

course of an address in 1891, remarked: 'When one considers the work to be done and the means at hand, one hardly knows whether to wonder at the audacity of their attempt or the measure of their success. The community looked on with an amused incredulity at the bravery and faith of these women.'

In the Report of 1894, the Treasurer, Mr. Plimpton, says: 'As we look back on the beginning of Barnard, we are surprised at the audacity... Barnard College was established nearly five years ago under financial conditions quite different from those which made possible similar institutions in other cities. The only financial support at the outset was the agreement of some fifty persons in New York City that for four years each would contribute one hundred dollars annually.' *

Mrs. Stranahan, who was the fourth member of the Ways and Means Committee, deserves a crown for her vote. 'We simply must open,' she declared, 'whether we have the money now or not. Every one of us [her husband was an annual subscriber] will double our gifts if necessary, but we must open next autumn.'

Mr. Plimpton and I voted to open. The Treasurer was right beyond a doubt. It was a foolhardy proceeding fraught with difficulties and dangers. But there are times when it is more glorious to be wrong than to be right.

* As we have just seen, even this was an overstatement!

At this historic meeting, May 10, 1889, the following modest appropriations were made:

For rent*	$1800
Furnishing house	1000
	$2800
For Professors' Fees	3500
For Lady Principal	1200
Grand Total	$7500

This included nothing for the janitor and his wife, for heating, lighting, or other upkeep of the house, nothing for printing, postage, or other incidentals. At a meeting a week later, it was reported that the Academic Committee voluntarily reduced its budget to four thousand dollars so that the seven hundred thus saved could go towards the rent of a house. The House Committee had reported itself utterly discouraged in the hope of securing a suitable house near enough to Columbia for less than twenty-five hundred dollars.

To get the full flavor of this earliest budget of the College, one must compare it roughly, at least, with the budget of today. Instead of the modest rent of $2500, we find our grounds were appraised by the Bureau of Taxes and Assessments September, 1934, at $3,800,000, our buildings at $1,275,000, and the equipment cost comes to $195,200.13. Instead of an expenditure for salaries of professors and the Lady

* See pages 149 *seq.*

Principal of $4700, we budgeted our Educational Administration at $566,103.64. Instead of the modest sum of $2000 which it was hoped would come in from tuition fees, in the year 1933–34, notwithstanding the depression which was felt by every college throughout the land, the tuition fees amounted to $392,549.78, while from our dormitories came in another $183,787.03.

CHAPTER XX

In the early winter of 1888–89, as soon as I heard of the encouraging action of the Columbia Trustees and a copy of the favorable Resolutions had been dug up from the archives of the College, a small committee set about securing a charter for Barnard College. There was some difficulty in securing even a temporary one because Barnard at that time owned no property, and had in contemplation merely the renting of a suitable building. Neither could it be said to own any endowment. What little income it could depend upon consisted merely in promises to pay for the next three or four years.

The Provisional Charter,* however, was finally secured with very material help from Melvil Dewey, who was now established in Albany at the head of his School for Librarians and acting as Secretary to the Board of Regents.

In a letter, early in June, 1889, he writes to me: 'You need no assurance of my willingness to do everything that I can to help you. I fully agree with you as to the desirability of opening this fall, and I think that the Charter can be granted.' He refers to the ignorance of actual conditions shown by several of the Board of Regents who had suggested letting the

* See Appendix H.

Columbia Charter cover the work of Barnard, and continues: 'I think, however, that I can present the merits of the case in such a way as to get you a provisional charter under which you can work with entire satisfaction.'

On the nineteenth of June, he writes: 'Of course, if you make a success of Barnard College, you will have an endowment of a hundred thousand dollars within a few years. I think I can satisfy the Board of Regents on this point, so that they will grant you a provisional charter at the July meeting — July ninth.' And in the following November: 'I beg to assure you of my very warm personal interest in Barnard College which in its pre-natal days was probably discussed more in my private office in the Columbia Library than anywhere else.' *

It will be recalled that the Resolutions passed by

* When the time came to provide for a permanent charter, Mr. Dewey was again of assistance. He wrote to Mr. Brownell in 1894: 'I deem it only a matter of form that the Regents will grant the absolute charter. I am proud of the vigorous life and high prospects of the College in whose earliest days I had, as I still have, so warm a personal interest. I expect it to take a foremost place among the women's colleges of the world. I cannot see why New York should be second in this vitally important field.'

There is another letter to Mr. Brownell, probably written a little before this, in which he says: 'You may rest assured that, in any new legislation, you will find me a warm friend. My whole five years at Columbia was a constant struggle against the Anti-Woman element, and it was with great delight that I saw Barnard coming into so promising an existence, just as the grand man for whom it was named completed his work.'

the Trustees of Columbia at their meeting, May 7, 1888, contained a statement that, before any official sanction to the plan for an affiliated college could be given, five conditions had to be met. The second of those was that the property was to be held, and the instruction managed, by an incorporated Association, the Trustees of which, and its name, constitution, and regulations, should be approved by the Trustees of Columbia College.

Therefore, at an informal meeting held in Hamilton Hall, Columbia College, on the evening of December 15 of that year, a letter was framed to be sent to the Trustees of Columbia College, which read:

'*Gentlemen:*

'In consequence of the action of your Board, taken at its Meeting in June, 1888... the undersigned were appointed a Committee to present to your Board a Memorial giving the name of the proposed corporation, the names of its Trustees, and its constitution and regulations.'

Here followed a list of the Trustees and of the Associate Members, together with certain of the by-laws which had already been decided upon.

The communication was signed by Annie Nathan Meyer, Ella Weed, Winifred Edgerton Merrill,* Frederic R. Coudert, and Francis Lynde Stetson.

* Mrs. Merrill, the proud possessor of Columbia's first doctorate, served on the Board only a short time. She was then living in the extreme northern end of the city — almost in the suburbs — and

For some months this small committee actually was Barnard College. It must have worked at a terrific pace, because it was only a couple of months later — March 4, 1889 — that the Columbia Board took formal action approving the opening of Barnard College.*

she was the mother of an infant. It was not only difficult for her to get off to attend the numerous meetings which were necessary, but her conservative husband objected to her constant attendance at meetings in the offices of the two lawyers of the Committee. I refused indignantly to ask these busy men to come uptown to my home, so Mrs. Merrill soon resigned from the Committee and the Board.

* In February, 1893, before the four years of trial were quite up, the agreement between Barnard and Columbia was renewed. The following year and in 1898 further agreements were entered into, always, however, with the proviso that either institution could sever the relations on due notice. The year 1900 saw the present permanent status achieved. (See Appendix H and Appendix I.)

CHAPTER XXI

PROBABLY the earliest appeal circularized by the Trustees of Barnard College is a two-page statement beautifully printed in clear black type on an excellent quality of bond paper, evidently designed by persons who knew the advantage of a good impression upon the eye as well as upon the mind. It is undated, but the context reveals that it was sent out in the spring of 1889. It reviews the steps taken by Columbia to sanction and standardize the education of women, without, however, providing for their instruction. The third page contains the names of the Trustees and Associate Members of the College.

The announcement is made that:

'The Trustees of Columbia College have now decided to recognize officially a college for women, where professors and instructors of Columbia College may repeat the instruction given to their regular classes.... The names of the Trustees and Associate Members of the new college, its constitution and general working plan have been submitted and approved. The members of the Faculty have without exception signified a cordial willingness to give instruction to the students of Barnard College.... It is proposed to lease a house for four years, at the end of which time

it will be the right of either college, finding the experiment unsatisfactory, to sever the relation.

'Similar colleges for women, working under less favorable conditions, have proved their efficiency both in England and America; and the friends of Barnard College feel justified in believing that a four years' test will result in the endowment in New York City of a college offering to women all that Columbia offers to men.

'Endowment cannot be justly asked until the experiment has been tried; but, even as an experiment, the work cannot be successfully carried forward except on a firm financial basis. It is confidently believed that the funds in hand will make it possible for the friends of Barnard College to open the building for the reception of students in September, 1889.'

This was drawing a long bow. We have already seen how discouraged was the House Committee at its failure to find a house to be rented at the price assigned to it by the Ways and Means Committee's budget. Even the twenty-five hundred dollars which was finally allowed was to prove too little in the expensive neighborhood of Columbia College. My letter to Mr. Brownell, of about this time or only a little later, says: 'I am worried; we can't afford $3500. The Ways and Means Committee today decided not to spend more than $3000. We cannot afford to give more, but I am most anxious that the extra $500 should be raised.' Then follows the first reference

to the house which did become Barnard's first home, 'Don't you think 343 Madison Avenue would be admirable?'

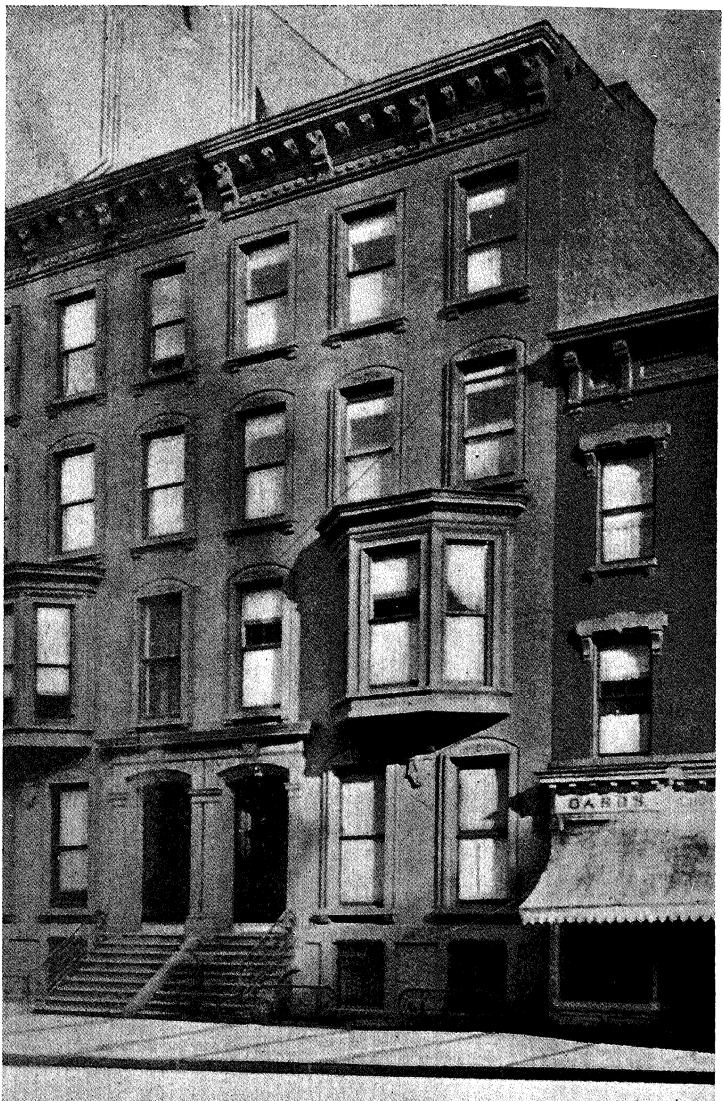
This brownstone, twenty-five-foot house was considered a promising choice, not alone because of its nearness to Columbia, and the arrangement of its rooms, but because it had been rumored that the owner was a wealthy woman who might become a benefactor to the College. It was suggested that to become her tenant might be the first step in interesting her. This hope, however, was never realized.

In order to save two hundred and fifty dollars in the rental, for the first two years, the College had agreed to permit the owner the use of the two rooms in the back of the fourth floor.* Another saving in rental was effected by permitting the newly formed Women's University Club to use the second-floor front, which was by far the best room in the house. This arrangement — which was considered advantageous both from the financial standpoint and because it brought to the College the type of women whose co-operation it was hoped to enlist — lasted but two years.†

The owner of 343 Madison Avenue, being a good

* Having started with a freshman class only, we did not require so much room at first.

† The Report for 1890–91 states: 'We regret that now being obliged to use the room for College purposes, we shall lose the familiar presence of these interesting and interested women.'



343 MADISON AVENUE
The first home of Barnard College, the lease for which was signed by the author

business woman, had firmly refused to rent her house to a struggling and not yet incorporated College, unless one of the Trustees was willing to become responsible. Therefore, I felt called upon to prove my faith by signing a four years' lease for that brownstone house which was the birthplace of Barnard College. The terms were a yearly rental of thirty-two hundred and fifty dollars for the first two years and thirty-five hundred for the last two. To this day, I can feel the tremor of excitement that went through me as, with a stroke of the pen, I made my husband legally responsible for a sum almost double that which we were paying for the rent of our own home a mile north on the same avenue. Had things gone wrong we should have had to make inroads into our capital.

The first Circular of Information contains the announcement: 'Barnard College will open Monday, October 7, 1889, at 343 Madison Avenue and will receive only students fitted for admission to the classes of the Freshman year.'

By the time there were four classes at Barnard, not only was every room used, but every available inch in the building, including the former butler's pantry, the sink of which was converted into an umbrella-rack. Students of science had to go over to Fifth Avenue to an apartment converted into laboratories.

However, it must be said that the students and

faculty took all the inconveniences in good part. They were heroes, each and every one of them.

In the *Barnard Annual* of 1895 a student gives voice to the question, 'Will there be [in a future splendidly equipped college] an assembly room so dear to us as Mrs. Kelly's refrigerator,* where we sat so often discussing politics, poetry, and professors?'

In the *Mortarboard* for 1898 an article appeared, signed by A. C. W., which actually had the temerity to sympathize with the students of these grander days for having missed the fun of suffering discomfort for a beloved cause:

'Those of us who have lived in and loved the old building feel that the new conditions cannot foster deeper love for the college life than have the unpretentious beginnings of which we have been a part.

'There have been inconveniences untold, it is true. We have been crowded and cramped and packed in until we have almost gasped for a breathing space; we have had lunch-room, club-room, lecture-room, study and chapel all within the same four walls, where it is impossible to sit in comfort without being suffocated by the heat or almost driven out by the cold. But these have been merely external conditions which we have not minded except in a desultory sort of way as the indispensable something to grumble at; for the discomforts have bound us only the more closely together in our resolve to disregard them and to *make*

* See Appendix J.

a college life and a college spirit in spite of all the difficulties.'

A few years after this, one of the most devoted Professors characterized the old building — also in the pages of the *Mortarboard* — as 'a collection of bedrooms.' He went on to say, 'What a magnificent illustration those old days afforded of the truth that splendid structures are no essential element of a college!'

Yes; I am sure that, when the time came to move Barnard to its present proud site, those early students, despite all inconveniences and in face of their pride in their alma mater's 'more stately mansions,' felt a certain regret at leaving 343 Madison Avenue. They knew that there they had been laying the foundations and establishing the traditions of greater Barnard. They shared the emotion that Dr. Morgan Dix reports himself to have felt for old Columbia, when that College moved to its 'uptown' site in Forty-Ninth Street. 'I traced with long and anxious gaze,' he says, 'the lecture rooms and the house so well known to every graduate, and then, taking off my hat, I bade thee farewell, "Alma mater, vale, vale, vale!"' *

* Dr. Morgan Dix's Diary, August 10, 1857.

CHAPTER XXII

IT WAS owing to the foresight and judgment of Ella Weed that Barnard did not make the mistake, as some other colleges had done, of opening its doors to four classes at once. 'Better empty rooms,' announced Miss Weed trenchantly, 'than empty heads!' Decidedly, Barnard wished to be responsible for its own graduates, and this was not possible if students were permitted to enter the upper classes who had been trained by other colleges and were under the aegis of Barnard for, perhaps, only the senior year. Even though at present, nearly half a century later, Barnard is proud to take first rank in the number of transfers from other colleges, this policy of limiting our graduates to those who had attended for four years was a wise one for those pioneer days.

Of regularly enrolled freshmen there were only seven when the College opened. It is unfortunate, because misleading, that in several later Annual Reports a number of special students were included and the first class is referred to as having had a registration of thirty-six. While the usual type of special student was not admitted, exceptions were made for the student who was devoting herself to science. It was felt that there was little chance of Barnard's being overwhelmed by these in numbers, such as

might have swamped the regular classes had 'specials' in Literature or History, for instance, been admitted. Furthermore, there were many schools where courses in the more popular branches might be taken, but no laboratories where women might do original research work.

The Botanical Laboratory, generously equipped by the Torrey Botanical Club and headed by a splendid woman and celebrated scholar, Dr. Emily Gregory, was a great boon to the College. It was so popular that within a year or two it was necessary to rent other rooms for it. Dr. Nathaniel Britton, Head of Columbia's Botanical Department, was deeply interested from the start, and Dr. Gregory was recommended by him for the Barnard position.

The examinations for admission were held the week before the opening of the College. The announcement of them contained the highly significant words: 'The following examinations, *which are identical with the examinations for admission to Columbia College*, will be held at Barnard College, each day at ten o'clock.'

The examination in Mathematics was scheduled for Wednesday. When I arrived at the College, I accidentally learned from Miss Weed that the papers sent over from the Head of the Department of Mathematics were not identical with those given to the boys who were taking their examinations to enter Columbia, but were papers written by a young assistant, Dr. Thomas Fiske. I was horrified. I cried out,

'But they *must* be the Columbia examinations! We have announced that the examinations are to be identical. We have promised it.'

Miss Weed assured me that everything had been done that was possible to make 'Van Am,' as he was called by everyone, change his mind, but that he firmly refused to let his examination questions out of his hands. Urging seemed only to strengthen his determination.

I gasped in dismay, 'We cannot go back on our given word like that! Think of the consequences!' Miss Weed tried to console me, saying that Dr. Fiske was an extremely able teacher, as indeed he was; that I might be sure the papers were no easier than those the boys were to take. She sniffed in her funny, characteristic little way, as if enjoying the joke that anyone could put over on her a trick like that. But I was far from satisfied. In fact, I insisted that she hold up the examination until I could dash over to Columbia and back.

Miss Weed consented ruefully. Well, perhaps it was just as well that her young friend would learn there were some things she could not accomplish. She was growing a bit too sure of herself, too apt to be distrustful of the efforts of everyone else. When I arrived at Forty-Ninth Street, at the entrance to Hamilton Hall, I met Harry Thurston Peck, the Professor of Latin, editor of the *Bookman*, and a good friend of mine. He couldn't resist teasing me good-

naturedly when I admitted that I had come for the Columbia mathematics papers, 'No use! Everyone has had a try at it. "Van Am" won't budge.'

'Wait here four minutes and see!' I challenged, and he pulled out his watch, laughing.

I found Professor Van Amringe in his study, visibly annoyed at what he considered much ado about nothing. 'You, too!' he cried. 'Such a silly fuss about that examination! I assure you, madam, the questions sent to Barnard are even more difficult than those the boys are answering. It's a better examination than I could write myself.'

My knees shook under me. For all his great popularity among the students, he was a big, broad, formidable-looking man. And just at that moment, his long, walrus mustache fairly bristled with irritation. But, frightened as I was, I realized those who had come before me had wasted their time arguing this point. They sought to flatter him, but I took him at his word: 'That isn't the point at all, Professor Van Amringe. I have no doubt it's a splendid examination Dr. Fiske has written. I even believe what you say, that it is a better paper than you could write.'

The busy white eyebrows quivered. My legs became less dependable as a support. But I held my ground:

'I ask you, if tomorrow's papers say "the Barnard girls didn't have to pass the same examination in

Mathematics as was given the Columbia boys," what will the world think? — that they were more difficult or that they were easier? Do you think for a moment our girls will get the credit of passing an examination that was actually harder than the one the boys took? You know they'll all say the bars were let down for the inferior mentality of the girls.'

Without a word he turned to his desk, took up a bundle of papers, and with a low bow placed them into my waiting hands. In four minutes I was on my way back to Barnard, darting past Professor Peck, waving triumphantly the Columbia examination papers!

When some of his colleagues teased him at not being able to resist the appeal of a pretty young woman, he replied: 'Not at all. Her being pretty or young had nothing to do with it. She was the first person — man or woman — who had the sense to show me what I was doing.'

The episode had an importance not easily estimated at the present day, when the right of women to education, or their ability to profit by it, is no longer questioned. Furthermore, Barnard College has made her own reputation and created her own standards. No one would ever say today that the Barnard students required or desired the slightest intellectual concessions.

Whatever lies in the future for Barnard College, it cannot fail if it holds firmly to the tradition of its

past. It was sorely tempted in the days when it had no funds, no buildings, and only a temporary and provisional legal existence, yet it successfully resisted the appeals of women of wealth and position to let down the bars in order to permit their daughters to enter. At that time, remember, when collegiate education for women was commonly regarded as a mere means of earning a living for those women who 'unfortunately' needed to do so, it would have been a great feather in Barnard's cap to have enrolled the daughters of well-known social leaders.

In my address given before the National Council of Women in 1891, in examining the characteristics of the affiliated college for women, I had uttered a warning that it was important to distinguish between false and true methods. Although reluctant to criticize another college, I explained that 'the way to exert real influence and to carry on a real fight against superficial education for girls is to insist rigorously upon definite standards,' and not weakly to follow the example set by Evelyn College which was the woman's college affiliated with Princeton College in 1888, a year before the establishment of Barnard. A Resolution passed by the Trustees of Princeton permitted the members of their faculty to give such help to students of Evelyn College 'as did not interfere with their duties to the University.' Furthermore, it granted the women students the use of libraries, museums, etc. So far, so good.

But the woman's college did not live up to its privileges. I quoted the letter which the Head Mistress of Evelyn wrote to me on this point: 'You will understand how impossible it is for girls to accomplish the same course of study in the same length of time as the boys do, if they try to do anything at music or art, therefore we have found it necessary to have our own, or what we call the Evelyn College course, which differs from the Princeton course, in allowing music and art to be pursued as regular electives, and in not insisting upon Greek.'

It is interesting to note that when I had protested to the Head Mistress that she was losing sight of the chief advantage of the affiliated college which was to maintain standards in every way identical with those of the young men, she wrote again to me: 'Of course, you in New York have doubtless all the money you need, but we have very little to go on, and it is necessary, *if we are to live at all*, to make concessions.' The italics are mine. With what satisfaction I was able to reply: 'On the contrary, we are as poor as church mice, but we intend to maintain our standards. We are not giving our time and strength to show that women are unable to carry on the same studies as men; but the opposite. If we cannot live without sacrificing our ideals, it is not the ideals that will be sacrificed.'

Barnard College lives today, firmly and permanently established in a position of dignity and influ-

ence. It has many buildings including science laboratories, gymnasium, swimming pool, social rooms and attractive residence halls, a large number of applicants from many states, from which to select its thousand students, and a Faculty of exceptional distinction, which gives it rank among the leading women's colleges of the country. Evelyn College no longer exists, *not even as a memory.* A few years ago several members of the present faculty of Princeton University were astonished to learn from me for the first time that there had ever been a Princeton 'Annex' for women.

Nothing is more certain than that life is not achieved by those who throw aside their ideals in order to live. Life, like fame, seems securest to those who are apparently indifferent to it. As Juvenal so splendidly, so defiantly put it, 'Consider it the greatest disgrace, for the sake of life to lose that which makes life worth living.'

APPENDIX A

HERE some quotations from the Diaries of Dr. Morgan Dix may be pertinent and interesting, as showing the history of this plan:

1882, May 1. — Meeting of the Trustees lasted nearly four hours. The subject of women in the college did not come before us. [The relief is evident here.] *1883, Jan. 30.* — In the afternoon I paid a visit to Mrs. Caroline G. Reed at her house and spent an hour with her in conversation about the plans of the persistent set of agitators who have in mind the 'higher education' of girls. Got a great deal of light on their expectations and proposed methods. The thing seems to have been engineered from the beginning by a little knot of persevering women most of whom are... of the Boston type, etc. They make great boasts of an anticipated success with the Board of Trustees of Columbia College. *1883, Feb. 5.* — Got up to Columbia College at 2 P.M. We sat till after 5. Governor Fish presented the threatened petition for the Higher Education of Women and, on my motion, it was referred to a Select Committee consisting of myself, Dr. Chambers and Dr. Agnew to consider and report. *Feb. 14.* — In the afternoon at four o'clock our Committee on the petition to the Trustees of Columbia College met at my house, all present, viz: Dr. Chambers, Dr. Schermerhorn, Dr. Townsend and Dr. Agnew. We sat till ten minutes to 6 and separated with a fair prospect of substantial agreement on the important principles involved in the prospect before us. *Feb. 27.* — Had an interview with a student from the Institute of Technology of Boston, who gave me some particulars of the results of Coeducation, which confirms all that I said in

my lecture last evening. *Feb. 28.* — This afternoon at four o'clock the Select Committee of the Trustees of Columbia College met at my house and considered the draft of a report which I had prepared.... To my great satisfaction, we got it into such shape... it will go to the Board with the signatures of the entire Committee. *Feb. 29.* — Sent to Gov. Fish a copy of our report and received from him a letter cordially approving it in every particular. *Mar. 5.* — Sent a copy... to Dr. Barnard at 9 A.M. At 2 P.M. the Board of Trustees met. I presented the report and the resolutions appended. All passed unanimously with the exception of the first, which received only one negative vote — that of Pres. Barnard. It was a complete and thorough triumph over the coeducation scheme. *Mar. 7.* — The press is teeming with comments, most of them one-sided and many extremely bitter on the refusal of the Board of Columbia College to allow co-education. The extent to which the public mind has been debauched by the women and President Barnard on this subject is evident from the tenor of the articles pouring from the press. Never was there a grosser delusion! *April 13.* — Spent three hours this morning writing a report to be presented to the Board of Trustees of Columbia College on the meeting in May — a thankless task, for the public beast will probably find fault with everything that we do. *May 7.* — Our Committee made their second report which was accepted and ordered printed and made the order for the June meeting. *June 4.* — We transacted a great deal of business including the adoption of the system for the Collegiate Education for Women.

June 7, 1886. [Three years later.] — We recommended that the degree of B.A. in the Course for Women be conferred on all who shall pursue with success the degree in the School of Arts.

APPENDIX B

IN CONNECTION with Dr. Brooks's article I wrote to him on August 25, 1891, as follows:

'I am jubilant and so I must pour out my soul to you! I wrote a strong letter to Horace White [the owner of the *Evening Post*] the other day sketching a plan for the endowment of Barnard and he approves and tells me to go ahead.

'I propose to supervise a weekly series of signed articles on Higher Education of Women to appear in the Post with the distinct point of interesting people in Barnard, but yet of sufficient interest to the general public to be important as educational articles in themselves. Mr. White will see we have some strong accompanying editorials and I think something will come of it; don't you?

'I shall begin with an account of College and prospects for year, also account, — editorially, if possible, — of financial needs. Do you think you can get your brother, Bishop Brooks, to write something? I would not like to suggest to your brother a subject because anything he wrote would be so much appreciated. But, if he has no choice, something might be said on the Character of Woman and the New Opportunities of Intellectual Development. Or I would very much like his thoughts on the Sphere of Woman and College Education. It would be great to have his word against those (who are more in New York than one might believe) who believe learning in women hurts their womanliness, interferes with motherhood, etc.

'I should consider the series begun auspiciously if he consents, — I do not mean that his paper would be the first. Am I asking too much? I think not; we must have the best and make a stir.'

The titles in the series of educational articles in the *Evening Post* were as follows:

'The Outlook for Barnard College.'

'The Significance of the Recent Action of Brown University.'

'The True Significance of the Affiliated College.'

'The Influence of the Higher Education of Women on Religious Thoughts. — Apprehensions Allayed.'

'Another Step Forward.'

'The Opening of the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.'

'Home Life for Girls in College.'

'The Influence of the Women's College upon the Girls' School of Today. — Barnard College and the Schools of New York.'

Among those who contributed to the series were: Arthur Brooks, Ella Weed, Bishop Potter, Lila V. North, Alice Wolfe, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, and Annie Nathan Meyer.

APPENDIX C

(From *The Nation*, June 26, 1888)

NEW YORK, *Jan.* 21, 1888

AT THE present moment there are from New York City and suburbs two women students at Cornell, four at Bryn Mawr, thirteen at Smith, seventeen at Vassar (besides fifteen in preparation for it) and thirty-one at Wellesley; making a total of fifty-seven * students coming this year from New York City or some place whence they could easily attend a day college in New York. And if fifty-seven girls can leave their homes and encounter the discomforts of an independent life for the sake of pursuing a collegiate education, how many would attend college gladly, enthusiastically, were it not necessary to face the obstacle of leaving home? It is certain that where fifty New York mothers would consent to their sons leaving home to study at Harvard or Yale, only four or five would permit their daughters to attend Wellesley or Vassar. The principal of one of the best schools for young ladies, a school where the pupils are fitted conscientiously for a collegiate curriculum, told me the other day that, though she has only lately begun, she has sixty-five pupils (including two grades, seniors and juniors), and that, of the seniors, sixteen from this city are about to enter some college (Wellesley, Smith or Bryn Mawr), and at least five more are wofully bemoaning their fate because their parents will not allow them to leave their homes.

For the last thirteen years there has existed a 'Society to Encourage Studies at Home.' It merely aims to encourage

* Mathematics never was my strong point. I see my addition was at fault. So far as I know, it went all these years without correction. I regret it, as my argument would have been all the stronger.

women to study by a system of correspondence between teacher and pupil. It wisely supposes that there are a great many women who have a taste for study, but cannot leave their homes to attend college. A pupil can study as much as she thinks she is able, and can become as proficient as she wishes in any branch of knowledge that is capable of being studied at home, and without a tutor upon the scene. No degrees are given, but a certificate stating exactly what has been studied and with what success. The teachers are women of culture and refinement, and correspondence with them is a great boon. Of the women in New York who are longing for *something definite* to do in the way of study, and are prevented from attending college because there is none in the city, thirty-three pursue this course, besides thirty-six others that live in the vicinity, thus making a total of sixty-nine girls in New York and vicinity who are studying by this method for lack of better.

Sixteen hundred girls go to Normal College. Out of these sixteen hundred, only a small number become teachers, and that is the object and worth of the college — to turn out teachers. The curriculum of Normal does not satisfy the demand in women for a complete collegiate course; seven graduates of Normal College are now studying at Columbia. It is commonly supposed that only parents who could not afford to pay tuition fees send their children to Normal College. On the contrary, a very large number of the parents could easily afford it, and would gladly send their daughters to a private college where a higher curriculum and degrees could be procured. For such as could afford to pay tuition, President Hunter tells me he is very anxious to secure the right of conferring degrees, as the New York College for boys has the right. He would also alter or improve the present curriculum of Normal College, having an Art course for such as would care to take the degree of

B.A., a Normal course for such as would care to become teachers, and possibly an Industrial course for such as would wish to earn their living as artisans.

There exists also an apology for a collegiate course for women held out by Columbia College. There have been thirty-eight girls who began that course. During the four years, eight have dropped from the ranks — either from discouragement at the slender advantages offered and many difficulties to contend against, or perhaps from nervous dread of encountering the phalanx of staring youths; one girl has graduated and received her certificate, and one more has put argument into the mouths of the enemy by leaving the course to enter upon married life. Thus, with wonderful perseverance, twenty-eight girls have continued to take the course. These twenty-eight girls have worked nobly, actuated by the sentiment that a principle was at stake. They felt that they were there on trial, on probation; several of them, though deriving but little benefit from their labors, still kept on, hoping that their perseverance would finally induce the trustees to open to women students the full privileges of the college.

By a resolution of the Trustees of Columbia College adopted June 8, 1883, it was ordered that 'a course of collegiate study, equivalent to the course given to young men in the college, should be offered to such women as may desire to avail themselves of it, to be pursued under the general direction of the Faculty of the College, in accordance with the following principles and regulations, etc.' This read excellently — it seemed as if the long-talked-of loaf was at last to be thrown to the women; but, alas! it soon turned out to be a stone, and of a particularly indigestible quality. These 'principles and regulations' simply were to the effect that the women could pursue their studies wheresoever and howsoever they pleased, except under the

sacred roof of Columbia. Their unhallowed presence was not for an instant to be sanctioned in the laboratory or the lecture-room. All that concerned Columbia was that the women were to be present at its examinations twice a year, and to be able to answer certain questions, which questions satisfactorily answered, they were at liberty to return home again and prepare for the next set of questions.

It is no easy task for a girl to study alone, unaided by tutor or professor and prepare for examination papers more difficult than the boys', inasmuch as the examinations for women were prepared from the entire range of the books, and the examinations for men prepared only from lectures, the particular bent of which had become familiar. Yet twenty-eight New York girls are now doing it.

A couple of years later the trustees passed a resolution allowing the college to confer degrees on women if they had in all respects followed the full equivalent to the boys' course — in all respects except the important ones of attending lectures and working in the laboratories. Is it to be wondered at that only two or three essayed to gain a degree of B.A. or B.L. under such conditions?

The women have been admitted, during the past couple of winters, to lectures given at Columbia on Saturday mornings. Prof. Boyesen, Prof. Charles Sprague Smith, Dr. Butler, Dr. Titus M. Coan, and others, have been heard with great enthusiasm each week by some two hundred ladies, and many applicants for tickets were obliged to be refused. Some years ago, several professors were in the habit of inviting a few ladies to attend their lectures. Among the ladies invited were some members of the President's family and a daughter of one of the trustees. All was going smoothly when unfortunately the trustee in question in an evil moment was seized with a desire to read the Constitution and By-Laws of the College. To his horror he

found that, in allowing his daughter to attend the lectures at Columbia, he was violating the laws of the college! He at once withdrew his daughter; the President could scarcely permit his relatives to remain, so he was obliged to follow the example of the trustee, and soon there was not a woman left.

The President called a meeting of the trustees and read them the resolution passed some years ago by them, and essayed to prove that the admittance of women to the lectures was not against its spirit, but only the letter of it. The resolution was to the effect that no person should be allowed to attend the lectures of the college, without having duly matriculated as a student of the college. The President clearly explained that at the time the resolution was passed there was no thought of women entering the college and asking for admission to the lectures. The resolution was passed merely to prevent the possibility of the professors' permitting men to attend their lectures, pocketing the receipts obtained, and thus depriving the college of its tuition fees. As the admission of women to the lecture was a matter of courtesy, and known to the college, there could be no such objection. Notwithstanding this very plausible reading of the resolution by the President, the trustees agreed that women must no longer be allowed to attend any of the lectures.

Failing in his object, the President then called another meeting and asked the trustees to legalize the admission of women to the lectures by another resolution, worded carefully so as to preserve the spirit of the original resolution. This they refused to do, and even those who had hitherto shut their eyes to the prevailing habit now vehemently opposed the resolution permitting it. When asked by the President for an explanation, they could only answer that they wished the question had never arisen before the

Board, for, though in the irregular operation of the illegal habit they had seen no real objection, still they were loath officially to advocate such an advanced and liberal (and possibly demoralizing) state of things. So, since that day, no women have been permitted to attend the regular lectures. Even if women could legally be admitted to the lecture-room, there would still exist a reason why coeducation could not exist at Columbia proper. Columbia, like Harvard, needs all her income for the institution as it now exists, and does not care to assume new responsibilities.

President Barnard has told me that he has every reason to believe that, if only the funds for a separate College could be raised and a building not far from Columbia be built or hired, there could be soon put in working order a successful college with its instruction furnished by the professors and other instructors of Columbia College. I have not met with any professor that would not be heartily in favor of such a plan. They all agree in thinking that the present course at Columbia for women is little more than a farce, and yet the women students continue to increase in number, so eager are they to pick up the stray crumbs of knowledge that are offered them. Even now, though there is not yet a regular college where women can be instructed by the professors of Columbia College, there are a great number of principals of private schools for young ladies who, shrewdly seeing how anxious their pupils are for something, anything, really collegiate, have engaged one or more Columbia professors or tutors to lecture to the girls during the winter, and the different instructors may be seen scattered about the city as trump cards in hands of clever schoolmistresses.

An Annex to Columbia would, of course, be compared with the Harvard Annex. It could well bear comparison. The Harvard Annex has been established for about eight years; it began with twenty-seven students and today has one

hundred students. It now occupies modest but comfortable quarters in Cambridge and only requires to be recognized as permanently connected with Harvard University to become a perfect success. The founders of the Harvard Annex had to cope with serious difficulties that are entirely removed from the founding of an Annex to Columbia. The students of the Harvard Annex are not permitted to gain a degree, but are obliged to content themselves with certificates. On the contrary, a graduate of the Columbia Annex would readily receive the degree of B.A., as the 'Circular of Information' for the Collegiate Course for Women at Columbia College, 1887–88 reads: 'The degree of bachelor of arts will be conferred on such students as shall have pursued, during four years, a course of study fully equivalent to that for which the same degree is conferred in the School of Arts, and shall have passed the examinations required.' And, further, 'Any woman who shall have taken the degree of bachelor of arts in the collegiate course for women may study for higher degrees under the direction of the Faculty of the College.' And for those who wish only to pursue some special studies: 'To students not pursuing the full course required for the degree of bachelor of arts, but limiting themselves to one or more courses of inferior range, a certificate of proficiency in the subjects pursued will be given on the satisfactory completion of such course or courses of study, to be signed by the President of the College and the examining professor or professors.'

In Cambridge, they have an Annex and are praying for certain conditions that will insure its permanent existence and success. In New York, we have the conditions that would bring permanent existence and success, *but we have no Annex.*

'Where shall the scholar live?' says Longfellow. 'In solitude or in society? In the green stillness of the country

where he can hear the heart of nature beat, or in the dark, gray city, where he can hear and feel the throbbing heart of man?' I will make answer for him, and say 'In the dark, gray city.' In this 'dark, gray city,' this huge, growing, striving, ambitious city with its many means of satisfying life's demands, there is one lack — the lack of a college where women may attain a complete education without leaving their homes and families. Ought we not, therefore, to begin at once to organize an association for the collegiate instruction of women by the professors and other instructors of Columbia College?

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER

APPENDIX D

THE signers of this petition were:

W. S. Rainsford
Annie Nathan Meyer
Alfred Meyer
T. G. Croswell
William M. Taylor
C. E. Snape
Dewitt J. Seligman
Jacob H. Schiff
Mary Mapes Dodge
Richard W. Gilder
W. H. Draper
J. Edward Simmons
Chauncey M. Depew
Bettina Froelich
Frances Fisher Wood
James C. Carter
Josephine Shaw Lowell
Abbott E. Kittredge
M. G. Van Rensselaer
Chas. H. Parkhurst
Noah Davis
Annie Brown
D. Parker Morgan
Richard S. Storrs
Moary E. Storrs
Frederic R. Coudert
Jesse Seligman
Thos. Hunter, Pres. of Normal College, N.Y.C.
Abram S. Hewitt
Anne C. L. Botta
Robert Collyer
Alex C. Webb
W. R. Huntington
Frederick Saunders
Lyman Abbott
Fordyce Barker
W. N. Polk
Arthur Brooks
Gustav Gottheil
Joseph H. Choate
Caroline S. Choate
Francis P. Kinnicutt
Abby B. Longstreet
Mary L. Booth
George L. Schuyler
Louise Lee Schuyler
W. E. Dodge
S. H. Dodge
Thos. Armitage
Everett P. Wheeler

APPENDIX E

THE following months are full of letters and resolutions to persuade the Treasurer, who was becoming restless — and who could blame him? — from severing his connection with the College. Here is one typical letter from Mr. Schiff to Miss Weed; it is under date of February 11, 1891:

'... No one can regret it more than I that the exigencies of the situation compel me to resign.

'I feel that it is undignified to carry on an educational institution of such high aims by begging from door to door, and I can see the time coming in the near future when even this device will no longer avail.'

Notwithstanding the determined tone of this letter, President Low was able to persuade its writer to put off his resignation, at least for a time. A year later, however, Mr. Schiff wrote to me:

'I am glad to see that you continue to feel confident, but I am afraid that, unless some very earnest work is done by all of the Trustees, we shall be at the end of our rope before next fall. Will you please take it as an irrevocable resolution that I shall resign as Treasurer in the fall unless ways and means can be found to better arouse public spirit on behalf of Barnard College.'

This was in 1892. Evidently the Trustees, or at least some of them did bestir themselves, because it is not until 1893 that, with keen regret, the definite resignation of Mr. Schiff, both from the Treasurership and the Board of Trustees, was accepted. President Low wrote a letter to Mr. Schiff, which is quoted in *The Life and Letters of Jacob H. Schiff:*

'In my opinion your services to Barnard have been invaluable. It was everything to Barnard in the earlier

stages of this problem to have you for Treasurer, and if the College ultimately attains the strong position which its friends hope for, as I trust it will, you will certainly have been in every sense one of its founders.'

Although Mr. Schiff was no longer officially connected with the College, his interest in it remained as keen as ever. Two years after his resignation he became one of the twenty-five to give five thousand dollars each towards buying the land adjacent to Columbia's new site. Five years after this, he advanced the sum of thirty thousand dollars as a loan to the College. Two years more, and we find him suggesting to his successor in office to approach Mr. John D. Rockefeller. After the successful completion of the fund which Mr. Rockefeller started, Mr. Schiff wrote the philanthropist a letter which sets forth the reason for his own great interest in the Higher Education of Women:

'I feel like thanking you personally for what you have done. In this country where men, as a rule, are to so great an extent engrossed in their business affairs, the mothers must, of necessity, look to the greater extent after the education of the children. This makes it doubly important that the growing woman shall have every opportunity to fit herself very thoroughly for the duties which married life will devolve upon her, and it is because of this that colleges for women have become as great a necessity as those which exist for the education of men.'

In 1915, the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Schiff's arrival in America happily coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Barnard's existence. At this time a fund was being raised which actually succeeded in bringing the assets of the College up to just one thousand times the amount in its possession when it opened its doors. By this time Barnard boasted of three academic buildings and one building for a dormitory. The most pressing need just

then was for a central meeting place for the extra-curricular activities of the students, as well as for a new reading-room to replace the old one, which had become frightfully overcrowded. Both the old one and the new, by the way, have borne the name of Ella Weed in grateful memory.

Mr. Schiff, with splendid generosity, gave a Students' Hall at a cost of more than half a million dollars. It was nobly conceived as 'A place where students might associate in friendly and happy hours, and learn how to understand one another so that they might work helpfully together in after life, for the good of the community.'

With modesty as rare as it is admirable, Mr. Schiff declined to permit the building to be named after him. A tablet at the door of the splendid building records:

THIS BUILDING
IS THE GIFT OF
JACOB H. SCHIFF
TO
BARNARD COLLEGE
TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE
OF WOMEN STUDENTS OF
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
MCMXVII.

APPENDIX F

FIRST printed list of Associate Members, which appeared in 1889, contained following names:

Mrs. Francis C. Barlow
Mrs. Vincenzo Botta
Mrs. George Canfield
Miss Helen Gray Cone
Mrs. Julien T. Davies
Miss Julia Delafield
Mrs. John F. Dillon
Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge
Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge
Mrs. Richard Ewart
Miss Jeannette L. Gilder
Mrs. E. L. Godkin
Mrs. Alfred M. Hoyt
Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi
Mrs. Francis P. Kinnicutt
Mrs. Charles Lanier
Mrs. Herman Le Roy
Mrs. Abby B. Longstreet
Mrs. Alexander Mitchell
Mrs. F. P. Olcott
Mrs. Courtlandt Palmer
Mrs. Roger A. Pryor
Mrs. Isaac L. Rice
Mrs. Alice Wellington Rollins
Miss Agathe Schurz
Mrs. Augustus D. Shepard
Mrs. Roswell Smith
Mrs. A. B. Stone
Mrs. Frederick Ferris Thompson
Mrs. Louis Tiffany
Miss Amy Townsend
Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer
Mrs. Henry Villard
Mrs. Edward Winslow
Mrs. Lorenzo G. Woodhouse

APPENDIX G

THE names of first donors and annual subscribers listed in that little book here follow in alphabetical order:

Mrs. Alfred S. Barnes (now Mrs. Charles K. Adams)
Miss Helen Barney
Gerard Beekman
Miss Mary Benson
Hyman Blum
August Blumenthal
Mrs. Simon Borg
T. W. Bracher
Mrs. Calvin S. Brice
Rev. Arthur Brooks
M. Bruhl
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bruhl
Mrs. Henry Budge
Addison Cammack
Mrs. James C. Carter
Mrs. Julius Catlin
Mrs. Joseph H. Choate
Mrs. Henry Clews
Frederic R. Coudert
W. Bayard Cutting
Charles M. Da Costa
Charles A. Dana
Julien T. Davies
S. de Jonge
Miss Julia Delafield
Mrs. John Dillon
Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge
Augustus Downing
Mrs. John W. Ehninger
Jules Ehrich
Mrs. David Einstein
Mrs. Richard Ewart
H. C. Fahnestock
Martin Fechheimer
Hamilton Fish
A Friend
James A. Garland
Miss Nina Goldsmith
Mrs. Almon Goodwin
Mrs. James J. Goodwin
Mary M. Gurnee
Miss Adelaide Hamilton
Miss Charlotte A. Hamilton
Joseph W. Harper
Mrs. Alfred Heidelbach
Mrs. H. Herman
Mrs. Frederick Herrman
George Hoadly
Mrs. Henry Holt
Buchanan Houston
Mrs. Alfred M. Hoyt
Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi
John S. Kennedy
Mrs. Bennett King
Dr. Herman Knapp

Mrs. Lambert
Mrs. Charles Lanier
Mrs. A. H. Levy
Solomon Loeb
A. A. Low
Mrs. Seth Low
Dr. Alfred Meyer
Mrs. Oscar Meyer
Seth M. Milliken
Charles Minzesheimer
Mrs. William Moir
Mrs. Frances Ogden
Mrs. F. P. Olcott
Joshua S. Piza
George A. Plimpton
Mrs. Edward Price
Mrs. John D. Rockefeller
V. Henry Rothschild
Mrs. Jacob Rothschild
Mrs. Russell Sage
William Salomon
William C. Schermerhorn
Jacob H. Schiff
George L. Schuyler
Georgina Schuyler
Mrs. Isaac Newton Seligman
Col. Eliot F. Shepard
James Speyer
Louis Stern
Mrs. M. Sternberger
James S. T. Stranahan
Mrs. Algernon Sullivan
Mrs. James Talcott
Mrs. Daniel Talmage
Mrs. Frederick Ferris Thompson
Mrs. F. B. Thurber
Mrs. F. H. Underwood
Lawson N. Valentine
W. K. Vanderbilt
Mrs. Henry Villard
W. H. Webb
L. Weissman
Mrs. Anna Ogden West
A. M. White
A. Wolff
Lewis S. Wolff
General Stewart L. Woodford
Mrs. L. G. Woodhouse

APPENDIX H

FROM a useful booklet published by Barnard College and entitled, 'Charters, By-Laws and Intercorporate Agreement, with Amendments to December 4, 1930':

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
PROVISIONAL CHARTER OF BARNARD COLLEGE

Whereas, Frederic R. Coudert, Annie Nathan Meyer, Francis Lynde Stetson, Ella Weed, and Silas B. Brownell, have submitted to the Regents of the University of the State of New York, their purpose to found an institution of learning in the city and county of New York, with the details of the plan on which and the funds with which it is intended to found and provide for the same, declaring their intention within the term of five years to fulfill the conditions required for an absolute charter, and have asked that the said institution be chartered by and made a part of the University of the State of New York;

Therefore, the Regents by virtue of the authority vested in them by law do hereby incorporate Mrs. Francis B. Arnold, the Rev. Arthur Brooks, A.M., Miss Helen Dawes Brown, A.B., Silas B. Brownell, LL.D., Mrs. William C. Brownell, A.B., Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, Frederic R. Coudert, LL.D., Noah Davis, LL.D., George Hoadly, LL.D., Hamilton W. Mabie, A.M., LL.B., Mrs. Alfred Meyer, George A. Plimpton, Esq., Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., Francis Lynde Stetson, A.M., LL.B., Mrs. James S. T. Stranahan, Mrs. James Talcott, the Rev. Henry van Dyke, D.D., Miss Ella Weed, A.B., Everett P. Wheeler, A.M., LL.B., Miss Alice Williams, A.B., Mrs. Frances Fisher Wood, A.B., and their successors by the name of Barnard College. The said institution shall be subject to all regulations made by the Regents for colleges and shall be entitled to official visitation, to representation in the Uni-

versity Convocation, and to all other privileges of membership in the University enjoyed by like institutions.

In addition to the general powers of corporations conferred by statute and by the ordinances of the Regents of the University, it shall have power to confer on such persons as shall complete to the satisfaction of the faculty of the institution a course of study approved by the said Regents, the bachelor's degree in arts, science and literature, and in testimony thereof to award suitable diplomas under the seal of the corporation;

Diplomas and degrees conferred by the said college under the authority hereby granted shall entitle the holders thereof to all immunities and privileges allowed by usage or by law to the possessors of like diplomas and degrees from any college or university.

The charter hereby granted is and shall be a provisional charter and subject to revocation by the said Regents in the manner provided by law, unless within five years from the date hereof, the corporation hereby created shall submit to the Regents satisfactory evidence that it has fully complied with the conditions prescribed for an absolute charter, in which case this charter shall be replaced by an absolute charter.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The Regents have granted this charter and have caused to be attached thereto the seal of the University, done at the Capitol in Albany, August 8, 1889.

[SEAL]

H. R. PIERSON,
Chancellor.

MELVIL DEWEY,
Secretary.

The above charter was amended by the Regents December 10, 1889, and the charter as amended was issued Janu-

ary 15, 1890. The amendment was inserted after the words 'Barnard College' as follows:

'The number of trustees shall be and is hereby fixed at twenty-four and the above-named incorporators shall be and hereby are appointed trustees of said corporation. Seven shall be a quorum at a meeting of the trustees.'

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
CHARTER OF BARNARD COLLEGE

Whereas, A petition for incorporation as an institution of the University has been duly received, and

Whereas, Official inspection shows that suitable provision has been made for buildings, furniture, equipment, and for proper maintenance, and that all other prescribed requirements have been fully met

Therefore, Being satisfied that public interests will be promoted by such incorporation, the regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law hereby incorporate the legal successors of Mrs. Francis B. Arnold, Rev. Arthur Brooks, Helen Dawes Brown, Silas B. Brownell, Mrs. William C. Brownell, Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, Frederic R. Coudert, Noah Davis, George Hoadly, Hamilton W. Mabie, Mrs. Alfred Meyer, George A. Plimpton, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jacob H. Schiff, Francis Lynde Stetson, Mrs. James S. T. Stranahan, Mrs. James Talcott, Rev. Henry van Dyke, Ella Weed, Everett P. Wheeler, Alice Williams, Frances Fisher Wood, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

Barnard College

with all powers, privileges, and duties, and subject to all limitations and restrictions prescribed for such corporations by law or by the ordinances of the University of the State of New York. The first trustees of said corporation shall be the legal successors of the above-named incorporators under

the provisional charter granted August 8, 1889, which is hereby replaced by this absolute charter.

This corporation shall be located in the city, county, and state of New York.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The regents grant this charter, No. 814, under seal of the University, at the capitol in Albany, June 5, 1894.

[SEAL]

ANSON JUDD UPSON,
Chancellor.

MELVIL DEWEY,
Secretary.

PART V

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TRUSTEES OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY

THIS AGREEMENT, made the nineteenth of January, 1900, between

THE TRUSTEES OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, and BARNARD COLLEGE (hereinafter referred to respectively as 'Columbia University' or 'the University,' and 'Barnard College').

WITNESSETH:

For the purpose of incorporating Barnard College, a college for women, in the educational system of the University, it is mutually covenanted and agreed:

FIRST. That the President of the University shall be, *ex officio*, President of Barnard College, and if not already a Trustee of Barnard College he shall be so elected at the earliest opportunity. He shall preside at the meetings of the Faculty of Barnard College and shall have general supervision and direction of the educational administration of such College as in the other schools of the University.

SECOND. That the internal administration of Barnard College shall be conducted by a Dean, who shall be appointed by the President of the University, by and with the advice and consent of the Trustees of Barnard College. In the absence of the Dean, an Acting Dean may be appointed by the President.

THIRD. That Barnard College shall be represented in the University Council of Columbia University by its Dean, who shall have the right to vote in the University Council upon all questions. The Faculty of Barnard College shall consist of the President, the Dean, and all the professors on the staff of the University who give instruction in Barnard College. Whenever Barnard College shall maintain ten or more professors in its Faculty it shall be entitled to a representative in the Council additional to the Dean.

FOURTH. That Barnard College shall provide for, support, and maintain such officers of instruction as may, from time to time, be agreed on, as follows, to wit:

They shall be nominated by the Dean of Barnard College, with the approval of the Trustees of Barnard College and of the President of the University, and shall be appointed and reappointed by the University according to its custom. Their standing shall be the same in all respects as that of other like officers in the University — For all services rendered in the University by officers so appointed and for all services rendered in Barnard College by other officers of the University, payments shall be made by each corporation to the other in accordance with principles to be agreed on from time to time by the two Boards of Trustees concerned.

Members of the Faculty of Barnard College may be either men or women.

In the month of January in each year, or at such other time as may be mutually agreed upon, the Dean of Barnard College, with the approval of the Trustees of Barnard Col-

lege, and after conference with the heads of Departments in such College, shall submit to the President of the University a statement, showing:

First. The estimated number of the students in each class at Barnard College for whom instruction is to be provided during the next academic year.

Second. The number and grade of officers of instruction, and amount of service desired in each subject.

Such statement shall be subject to the approval and revision of the President, upon all questions not reserved by this agreement to the Trustees or Dean of Barnard College.

FIFTH. That, on and after July 1, 1904, all of the instruction for women leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts shall be given separately in Barnard College, except that courses open to Seniors of Columbia College which are counted towards a Teachers College diploma shall continue to be open to Seniors in Barnard College. Barnard College will assume as rapidly as possible all of the instruction for women in the Senior year, other than the courses leading towards a Teachers College diploma, without regard to the time limit contained in this section, and undertakes to maintain every professorship established at its instance, as hereinbefore provided, so long as the services of the incumbent thereof or an equivalent therefor shall be rendered in Barnard College; and when Barnard College had adequately provided for its undergraduate work, it will, as its means allow, establish additional professorships in the University, upon foundations providing for courses which shall be open to men and women, to the end that opportunities for higher education may be enlarged for both men and women.

SIXTH. That the University will accept women who have taken their first degree on the same terms as men, as students of the University, and as candidates for the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy under the

Faculties of Philosophy, Political Science, and Pure Science, in such courses as have been or may be designated by these Faculties, with the consent of those delivering the courses, and will make suitable provision for the oversight of such women.

The University will confer the degree of Bachelor of Arts upon the students of Barnard College who shall have satisfactorily fulfilled in Barnard College the requirements of the University Statutes for that degree. The courses in Barnard College leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts shall be determined and administered by its own Faculty, and all examinations for admission to Barnard College and in course shall be conducted under the authority of the Faculty of Barnard College. The diploma shall be signed by the President of the University and by the Dean of Barnard College. The degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred upon the graduates of Barnard College shall be maintained at all times as a degree of equal value with the degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred upon the graduates of Columbia College. The equivalency of the two degrees shall be maintained in such manner as the University Council may prescribe.

SEVENTH. That, so long as this Agreement is in force, Barnard College shall grant no degree. It shall retain the right to grant certificates to students not candidates for a degree, and it shall exercise all other corporate rights and powers which are not delegated to the University by this Agreement. But this Agreement shall not be deemed a surrender by Barnard College of any powers conferred upon it by charter.

EIGHTH. That Barnard College shall retain its separate corporate organization, and that the Trustees of Barnard College shall continue to provide for the financial support thereof; it being distinctly understood and agreed that the University is and shall be under no implied obligation, responsibility, or liability, of any kind whatsoever, for the

maintenance, support, direction, or management of Barnard College, or for the disbursement of the income thereof, except as stated in Section 4 of this Agreement; and that all and every such obligation or liability shall be strictly limited to the duties and obligations expressly and in terms assumed and agreed to by the University.

NINTH. That for each student of the University pursuing courses in the College, the University shall pay the College at a rate to be agreed upon from time to time. For each student of the College pursuing courses in the University, the College shall pay to the University at a rate to be agreed upon from time to time. No payment shall be called for from one to the other on account of students or instructors receiving instruction as Fellows or Scholars, or otherwise without payment of fees for tuition either in the University or the College.

TENTH. That the libraries of the University and of Barnard College shall be open upon equal terms to all women students of the University and of Barnard College.

ELEVENTH. This Agreement may be modified at any time by mutual consent expressed in writing, and may be terminated at the end of any academic year, after one year's notice in writing from either party to the other.

TWELFTH. This Agreement shall take effect immediately.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have severally caused these presents to be executed, and their respective corporate seals to be hereto affixed the day and year first above written.

[SEAL] THE TRUSTEES OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, by JOHN B. PINE, *Clerk.*

[SEAL] BARNARD COLLEGE, by GEO. A. PLIMPTON, *Treasurer.*

APPENDIX I

IN HER letter of resignation, Dean Putnam had made an eloquent plea that the Barnard Board ratify the agreement which had already been adopted by the Trustees of Columbia. She pointed out:

'Up to this time Barnard has been without a voice in its own academic policy. Where the needs of our students have been different in any respect from the needs of the students at Columbia we have had no official means of meeting them. Barnard College has been subordinate, not only to the president of the university, but to Columbia College as well. Our graduating classes have been recommended for degrees by the dean of Columbia College and he has signed their diplomas. The dean and faculty of Barnard College have been unable to settle a question on its merits but have been obliged to learn how a similar case would be dealt with by the dean and faculty of Columbia College. We have been at a disadvantage in a very practical matter, the arrangement of the time-table, for ours had to be made out after Columbia had had her choice of hours.

'In view of the constant friction arising from these circumstances I formed some years ago the private opinion that Barnard would not be able to take a proper attitude towards her own students and towards the community until its dean and faculty should occupy the same relative position towards the university as that occupied by the dean and faculty of Columbia College. These things seemed even three years ago Utopian; yet they are actually provided for by the proposed agreement.'

There followed several pages of details. The most important change in the status of Barnard's Dean is her appointment *ex officio* as a member of the university council.

APPENDIX J

THE Mrs. Kelley mentioned was a remarkable woman whom I had engaged as janitress as soon as the opening of the College seemed assured. Her younger, unmarried sister had been for many years in the employ of some friends. She was an excellent maid and Mrs. Kelley soon proved that she had the same qualities of dependability and uncomplaining devotion. Mrs. Kelley's husband arranged to take care of the heating and outside cleaning for the house. At first their sleeping quarters were a large, pleasant room on the third floor. As the College grew, the Kelleys' quarters shrank, until they occupied some sort of a contraption boarded up for them in the cellar. As it became apparent that every square inch of the building was being used for the students, it grew to be more and more of a puzzle where the Kelleys did hide their devoted heads. It became one of the standing jokes to picture them sleeping on the stone tables of the chemical laboratory, peacefully oblivious of the terrible smells. No one ever surprised a sour look on their beaming faces. Always cheery, always willing, it seemed as if their own neglect was entirely lost sight of in their rejoicing at the increasing prosperity of the College. They set an example to any student who might be tempted to grumble at the discomforts of trying to make an ordinary four-story house into a college building.

When the College finally moved up into the first of the up-to-date, splendid buildings which it occupies today, small wonder that the Kelleys welcomed their commodious apartment in the basement. It was not many months, however, before it was seen that Mr. Kelley did not possess the engineering experience necessary for the larger job. The faithful couple were reluctantly asked to leave. But the devoted services of 'The Kelleys' are among Barnard's most tenderly cherished traditions.

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